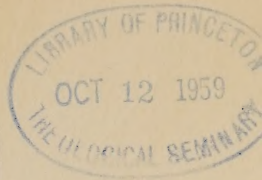


**NO SOUTH
OR NORTH**



NO SOUTH OR NORTH

by ROGER H. CROOK



THE BETHANY PRESS
ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

© 1959

by

THE BETHANY PRESS

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 59-10386

Printed in the United States of America

To
My Wife and Sons

CONTENTS

1. WHENCE CAME THEY?	15
2. WHERE ARE THEY NOW?	25
3. WHAT DO YOU THINK?	42
4. DOES IT MAKE SENSE?	58
5. WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?	74
6. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?	96

PREFACE

May 17, 1954, marked the end of an era in the United States. On that day the Supreme Court of the nation handed down a decision, brief and clear, which spelled out the doom of a way of life. It declared that racial segregation in public schools is unconstitutional, and thus struck down the "separate but equal" philosophy under which the people of the Southern states had lived for three-quarters of a century. The full effect of that decision was not immediately discernible. But it promised, at least by implication, full citizenship and equality of opportunity for one-tenth of the nation's people.

The Supreme Court ruling on segregation in the public schools confronted the people of the South with a demand for radical changes. The implementation of the Supreme Court decision will be conditioned by the situation prior to May 17, 1954. A principle has been enunciated. Those responsible for implementing that principle must keep in mind the strength of the mores which sanction segregation. The Court, in its ruling on procedure for making the decision effective, wisely provided for the time span necessary for the tremendous readjustments which must be made by both Negroes and white people.

The Supreme Court decision calls to the attention of Christian Americans two fundamental questions. As citizens of this nation, we must ask, "What bearing do the principles of democracy have upon the present situation in race relations in America?" As Christians, we must ask, "What are the demands of the Christian faith as regards race relations?" We cannot be good citizens or faithful Christians without facing up to these questions. The answers to them are "the way out" for Christian Americans.

These pages were written by a Southern white Christian. He was reared and educated in the South, and has spent ten years teaching in two Southern church-related schools. He is therefore involved in the problem of race relations in that region where it is most acute. What he has written has been directed primarily toward a select group: intelligent, white, Christian Southerners. It has been directed toward Southerners because they have the most radical readjustments to make in the near future. It has been directed toward white people because they are a party to the struggle now going on. It has been directed toward intelligent people because they are looking for a reasonable approach to the problem and can give wise direction to the changes in the making. It has been directed toward Christians because the problem of human relations is a moral one, one which must be approached in Christian terms.

There are few direct quotations in this book, though obviously I am indebted to countless numbers of men and women for information and insight. I should like to

express particular gratitude to five friends who read part or all of the manuscript and made valuable suggestions: Dr. Norma Rose and Dr. Sarah Lemmon, of Meredith College; Dr. L. E. M. Freeman, Professor Emeritus of Religion at Meredith College and now on the faculty of Shaw University; Mrs. L. E. M. Freeman; and Carl DeVane, of Shaw University.

The quotation of "In Christ There Is No East or West," by John Oxenham, is used by permission of American Tract Society.

ROGER H. CROOK

In Christ there is no East or West,
In Him no South or North;
But one great fellowship of love
Throughout the whole wide earth.

—JOHN OXENHAM

CHAPTER 1

WHENCE CAME THEY ?

“ ‘The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children’s teeth are set on edge.’ ”

—Ezekiel 18:2

Since neither the white man nor the Negro is native to America, this is the “white man’s country” only by virtue of his numerical and economic supremacy. There were white men in America only a little more than a hundred and twenty-five years before the first Negroes were brought here. The white man came as a conqueror, and made the land his. The Negro came as a servant, and the white man has never been willing to grant him full rights of citizenship.

The African ancestors of the American Negro came from the west coast of Africa. The majority of the Africans who fell into the hands of the slave traders lived on a strip of land about 4,000 miles long, stretching from the mouth of the Senegal River down the coast to the Congo. Most of them lived within a hundred miles of the coast, though some had been captured in the tribal wars between the coastal peoples and those living further inland.

Long before any Negroes were brought to America, slavery existed in Africa. Debtors and criminals were sometimes sold into servitude, and many captives of war

suffered a similar fate. It was a very different form of slavery, however, from that which was later to be practiced in the United States. Slaves had much personal liberty; their work was light; they were allowed to acquire personal property; and they were sometimes even treated as members of the family in which they were held in servitude.

The tribes from which most of the slaves came had well-developed cultures. None of them, it is true, had written languages, and their societies were essentially agricultural. But the people were skilled in many arts and crafts, particularly those involving the use of metals, wood, and cloth. Trade flourished, and there was a fairly widespread monetary system based upon the cowry shell. Land was not considered private property, but belonged to the family or the clan. Weapons, utensils, and ornaments were privately owned.

The tribes were ruled by elders and chiefs, whose power varied from group to group. Some were almost absolute despots; others were merely the leaders in near-republics. Fixed legal systems insured justice. The religion of the people was animism. This religious form, well-nigh universal among primitive peoples, teaches that there are innumerable spirits, both good and bad, which animate persons and objects and are the cause of all events.

The enslavement of these west-coast Negroes by other peoples was begun by the Arabs in the eighth century as they swept across North Africa in a wave of conquest. Among the Arabs, however, slaves were more luxury items than a part of the economy of production. In the middle of the fifteenth century Henry the Navigator brought into Portugal ten Negroes whom he had bought from the Moors. By the sixteenth century from 10,000 to 12,000 slaves a year were brought into Portugal, and

not only the Portuguese, but also the Spanish, the Dutch, and the English, were involved in the slave trade. So barbarous were the conditions under which slaves were captured and transported to Europe and America that, according to the most conservative estimates, for every Negro who reached Europe or America, three lost their lives.

The first Negro servants to reach this country were brought to Virginia in 1619 on a Dutch ship. Since they were the first, the colonies had no laws to regulate their status, and in the years immediately following 1619 the situation was not precisely defined. Indeed, those first Negroes in Virginia were for a time considered indentured servants who could hope to be freed after a term of servitude. By 1640, however, they had come to be regarded as lifetime slaves. In 1641 a law was enacted in Massachusetts specifying that Negro slaves were in bondage for life. Within a hundred years every North American colony had laws on the books regulating slavery and considering it a permanent status.

Most of the Negroes transported into this country were brought by the British, though the colonists themselves were also involved in the slave trade. The clearing-house of this trade was Rhode Island. Few slaves were held permanently in that colony, but many were landed there and reshipped into other sections of the country.

Slavery was tried in all the colonies, and indeed was legally sanctioned in them all. Quite early, however, the slave population became concentrated in the South. Only in the areas where there were large plantations did the institution of slavery prove to be a profitable venture. In the North, therefore, where family-size farms predominated, and in the mountainous areas of Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, where the same situation existed, there were few slaves. But in Alabama, Mississippi,

Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and the coastal areas of North and South Carolina and Virginia, slavery flourished. The land in those areas was suitable for the production of certain crops, notably rice, cotton, and tobacco, which are profitable only when produced in quantity and which require a great deal of human labor. Such a situation was suitable for the institution of slavery. Help could not be hired for work on the large plantations because there was an abundance of land so cheap as to be almost free. Free white men preferred to work on their own farms rather than to hire out to plantation owners. By 1790, therefore, the great majority of the Negroes in this country were in the Southern states. According to the census of 1790, there were nearly 650,000 slaves in the Southern states, and fewer than 50,000 in other regions of the country. In 1850 there were over 4,000,000 slaves in the South, and only around 2,500 in the middle states.

It is a tragic fact that the institution of slavery came to dominate the culture of the South in spite of the fact that two families out of every three in the region never owned a single slave. In 1850 only 30.3 per cent of the families in the South possessed slaves. Furthermore, 71.3 per cent of the slave-owning families possessed ten slaves or less, and only 0.5 per cent owned as many as a hundred. The South, therefore, was never a region of slaveowners. Yet, in large measure, the economy of the South was built upon the institution of slavery, and the social status of the white man was determined by his relationship to that institution.

The living conditions of the slaves varied from place to place. In general, they were better provided for in the Old South than in the Southwest. Nowhere was life luxurious for them, but most slaveowners found it economically advantageous to make adequate provision for their food, shelter and medical attention.

Family life was often disrupted because of the buying and selling of individuals. Some states did have laws which prohibited the separation of small children from their mothers, but none prohibited the separation of husband and wife. Indeed, the marital relationships of slaves were not legal, for slaves did not have the right to make contracts. There were slave marriages, however, and in many communities there were recognized methods of formalizing such unions. Some owners refused to break up marriages when they sold slaves, though such consideration was purely voluntary.

The relationships between the slaves and their masters varied. In general, the families which owned only a few slaves were quite intimate with them, but on the plantations contacts between owners and Negroes, except for the household servants, were impersonal. At best, however, the attitude of the whites was paternalistic.

While the physical conditions of the life of the slaves were not as bad as some have imagined, it should not be assumed that they were happy with their lot in life. Many of them accommodated themselves to their condition, but others struggled against it in one way or another. They employed sabotage, strikes, and malingering. Some ran away habitually, even though they had little hope of permanent escape. Beginning around 1830, the underground railroad aided some in effecting a permanent escape, though the actual number cannot be determined. Furthermore, there were occasional plots for rebellion. Only fifteen slave uprisings actually occurred, and only three were of any considerable proportion. But the fact of the plotting is evidence of vigorous reaction against the condition of servitude.

With the War between the States, the old social and economic order of the South was destroyed. The aftermath was chaos, for it was not possible immediately to

create a new order. Like any land which has been the scene of a great war, the South was in ruins. Her problems were made all the more difficult by the presence of multitudes of uprooted ex-slaves. The Negroes were a people without homes and without the means of earning a livelihood. They were not prepared for the new kind of life that was theirs. They had longed for freedom, but they were not equipped for it. The Freedmen's Bureau was handicapped in its work both by the misunderstanding of the Negroes as to what their freedom meant, and by the hostility of the white Southerners to the objectives of the organization. The military government of the South established suffrage for Negroes, but only by force. The Ku Klux Klan, originally merely a secret society for amusement, within a short time spread throughout the South as a device for restraining the Negroes and for dealing out punishment to the whites who became too sympathetic with the Negroes. Its methods were intimidation and violence, and in some areas it became so powerful that government troops were called out to deal with it. Southern white people accepted the abolition of slavery as irrevocable, but they did not so readily accept the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution which granted the Negroes civil rights and suffrage.

There was less violence in the South after the Reconstruction Era than during that period. When the white Southerners were in full control of their state governments, they found it easy to buy the Negro vote, or to fail to count it, or to manipulate the election machinery in such a way as to make it unlikely that many Negroes would vote. They found it a simple matter to enact laws to regulate the conduct of Negroes. Some of these laws were quite constructive, dealing, for example, with such matters as the legalizing of marriages. Most of them, however, were of a restrictive nature, designed to re-

establish the old slave-master relationship under a new name. Indeed, it was in response to such state legislation that the Congress of the United States enacted statutes outlawing peonage.

The re-establishment of the slave-master system was facilitated by the land problem. The land was still owned by the whites, and the only capital which the Negro had was his labor. The whites needed the Negro labor for the cultivation of the land, but they, too, were financially impoverished. The solution to this impasse was the development of the sharecrop system. The operation of this system, however, kept the Negroes in economic servitude. Indeed, by and large, most Negroes on farms still do not own land. As late as 1950, only thirty-six per cent of the Negroes at work in agriculture were landowners.

Thus the current pattern of Negro-white relationships in the South has its roots primarily in the period following Reconstruction. During the Reconstruction Era there was considerable violence. Immediately after that era the Southern white people, seeking to re-establish the prewar relationships so far as possible, found economic and political methods of evading the mandates of the emancipation proclamation. The methods were of necessity modified by the new legal status of the Negro. But by methods of chicanery and deceit, white supremacy was re-established.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of the current pattern of Negro-white relationships is the Jim Crow system. Some Jim Crow laws were enacted in the immediate postwar years, but the system was not firmly established at that time. Most of these laws were created in the late 1880's and the 1890's. The enactment of the laws does not represent the beginning of the practice, however, but the legalizing of practices that were already fairly widespread. By them "the Negro's place" was

defined, and the definition was virtually completed by the end of the nineteenth century.

The disfranchisement of the Negro, virtually complete during the first four decades of this century, was the aftermath of the late nineteenth-century Populist movement. In the late 1800's that movement alienated the middle and lower classes from the Democratic party and created a true two-party political situation in the South. Both parties appealed to the Negro voters in their attempts to get control, and large numbers of Negroes voted. But when the Populist movement declined, as it did rapidly after 1896, the white people, safely in the Democratic fold, took legal steps to disfranchise the Negro. This involved either the amendment of state constitutions or the adoption of new ones. Between 1890 and 1910 most Southern states took such steps. The constitutionality of many of the measures thus made law has only recently been successfully challenged.

The legal establishment of the Jim Crow system and the disfranchisement of Negroes created a new system to which the Negroes had to adjust. The development of new techniques of adjustment is best illustrated by the work of Booker T. Washington. Washington recognized that one of the greatest needs of Southern Negroes was for education. During the Reconstruction period, when the public school system was being developed in the South, Negroes received a fair share of the educational funds. But when the states regained control of their governments, most of the school funds were used in the support of institutions for white children. While Washington was convinced that full equality was the ultimate ideal, he felt that conditions made it necessary to compromise and settle for less. In order to get something for the Negro, he soft-pedaled the protest against inequality and injustice. He accepted the white man's judgment of the

Negro's place and of the kind of training needed by the Negro. He was therefore an advocate of vocational training as the type of education best suited for the Negro under the circumstances.

Because Booker Washington agreed not only to separate facilities but also to a different kind of education for the Negro, he received considerable support from white people. Though he regarded his compromise as a temporary expedient, he was used by white people to establish a fixed pattern which is only now being broken. In a now-famous speech delivered in Atlanta in 1895 he made a statement seized upon by white people and used by them to maintain the Negro in a subordinate position. "In all things that are purely social," he said, "we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." That Washington did not consider this arrangement ideal is made clear by other public statements. But he was willing to operate under these terms in order to get the maximum of co-operation from white people. This fact made it possible for Southern white people to define the limits of education for Negroes.

The concept of subordination to white people has never been accepted by all Negroes. It may well be that for Washington's day the kind of education which he advocated was best suited to the needs of most Negroes. But to close the door to any other kind of education for any Negro was a backward step. Certainly it should never have been adopted as a permanent program. Many Negro leaders today believe that Washington rendered a distinct disservice by allowing himself to be used to perpetuate a concept of education which was at best a compromise. They do not question his motives, nor do they minimize the tremendous contribution which he made to the life of the Negroes in a time of great need. But

they do believe that he sacrificed too much of the future to the expediences of his day.

In spite of limited economic and educational facilities, the Negro population has remained concentrated in the South. Nearly seventy per cent of the Negroes in America today live in this region. There has been migration into other areas, but not in sufficiently large numbers to alter the total picture radically. Within the region, however, there have been population changes which have affected all the people of the South. Like the rest of the nation, though at a somewhat slower rate, the South has been becoming predominantly urban rather than rural, a change associated with the growing industrialization of the South. Both white people and Negroes have been moving from the country to the city. This fact has created new problems for the Negro in terms of employment, education, justice, housing, and the like. To this changing situation we shall give our attention in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 2

WHERE ARE THEY NOW?

As soon as the people heard the sound of the trumpet, the people raised a great shout, and the wall fell down flat, so that the people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city.

—Joshua 6:20

Race relations in America today are undergoing radical changes. This is true fundamentally because relationships between people never remain static. Contacts between individuals, and between groups of individuals, are always subject to the influence of attempts to change status. Where there are human beings, there is interaction, and where there is interaction, there is change.

One of the chief factors giving direction to the change in Negro-white relations in this country in recent years has been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization, founded in 1909, is not an exclusively Negro group. Indeed, it was first conceived in the minds of three white people, though Negro leaders have been associated with it since its organization. The stated objective of the Association is to win, through educational and legal methods, full rights for Negro citizens. Many of the remarkable changes in

the American scene are due in large measure to its activities. Though other factors have been at work also, this has been the agency which has broken ground for new developments through the courts.

In spite of many changes that have taken place recently, the picture of race relations in the South is still dark. It is a picture of discrimination, suspicion, and hostility. In the "Bible Belt" of America, where the church is numerically the strongest, the problem is greatest. That is not to say that the church has failed or that the people of the churches are hypocrites. It is true that "the most segregated hour in America is eleven o'clock Sunday morning." It is also true that many American Christians see that their practice is inconsistent with their faith, but are nevertheless unwilling to make any change in their conduct or their attitudes. The churches have not been silent, however, as we shall see, and many of the leaders in the effort to create a sense of brotherhood have received their inspiration and their dynamic from the Christian faith.

The race problem in the United States is a moral issue, and can be adequately understood only in moral terms. Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish sociologist brought to this country in 1939 by the Carnegie Corporation for the purpose of studying the problem of race relations, completed his investigations and published his monumental work, *An American Dilemma*, in 1942. In his introduction he stated: "The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on."¹ In order to see what the situation is, we shall have to examine such matters as economics, politics, edu-

¹Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), p. xlvii.

cation, law, and religious organizations. But behind these factors is the moral element, and whatever changes occur in the external picture, we cannot consider our problem solved until there are changes of attitude.

It is often stated that the problem of race relations in America is primarily a white man's problem. This contention is supported by the fact that numerically the white people are in the majority by about ten to one. Furthermore, far more than ninety per cent of the economic, social, and political power is held by the white people. Since that is true, the white majority has for years determined the Negro's "place." Segregation, therefore, has been a system imposed upon the Negroes by the white people.

Although the white man has controlled the power, the problem is not exclusively his. Indeed, he has often failed to recognize that a problem exists. The Negro, on the other hand, has been laboring under great disadvantages. He is the one who has suffered because of the discrimination. And he is the one who has sought to have the wrongs righted. There have been many white champions of justice and brotherhood, but at least since the advent of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People the Negro has been vocal and effective in demanding justice.

Ideally, in Christian terms, it is not a problem either of the white man or of the Negro, but of both. If the concept of brotherhood has real meaning, it implies that no group suffers or prospers alone. We are so involved with each other that our problems are mutual ones, and our solutions, to be effective, must likewise be mutual. Furthermore, as the problem invades every area of life—economics, politics, education, social contacts, religion—the solution must pervade every area. The barriers may fall in some areas before they do in others, but no solution

will be reached until both Negroes and white people cease to think in terms of "we" and "they," and include all people as "we." Such a change cannot be accomplished in a short time, for our attitudes and our emotions—and therefore our mores—change slowly. But change they do, and concerned Christians, both Negro and white, must seek to make the changes harmonious with the Christian ideal.

Since our problem covers every area of life, we must give some attention to the present scene. If we can look objectively at the situation and come to some understanding of the meaning of the facts, we may be prepared to evaluate the situation in the light of the Christian ideal.

When we use the word "Negro," of whom are we speaking? There are three races of people in the world: the Negroid, the Caucasoid, and the Mongoloid. The Negro, therefore, is a member of the Negroid race. The differences between the races, however, are not so pronounced as is commonly believed, and anthropologists have difficulty in stating clearly the characteristics of each group. Furthermore, some peoples in the world cannot even be classified in terms of these three groups because of "overlapping" characteristics.

The American Negro is not pure Negroid. A fairly large portion of the captives deported from Africa during the era of the slave trade were already of mixed Negroid and Caucasoid ancestry, for there had been considerable intermixture in the region of the Sahara Desert and nearby districts. Many of the slaves brought to this country came by way of Spain and Portugal and the West Indies, where there was considerable miscegenation. Furthermore, in America there has been much intermixture of Negro, Indian, and white people, beginning in the slave era and continuing to the present.

It is generally believed by sociologists that miscegenation in this country is now decreasing. Several factors combine to account for this decrease. For one thing, the double standard of sex morality is breaking down, and the number of white women who engage in extramarital sex relations is increasing. In the second place, middle class standards of morality are spreading among the Negroes. These standards discourage extramarital sex relations. A third factor is the rising economic status of Negro women with its accompanying freedom from the advances of some white men who have traditionally exploited Negro women in the low-income brackets. Finally, there is a growing race-pride among Negroes which discourages interracial sexual contacts. In spite of all these factors, however, and in spite of legal barriers in some states, miscegenation still takes place. Conservatively it is estimated that at least seventy per cent of American Negroes have some white ancestry. This percentage may be expected to increase, because those Negroes who are pure Negroid do not necessarily marry persons whose ancestry is likewise pure. Their offspring will therefore be of mixed parentage. Furthermore, there is no basis for believing that miscegenation will ever be eliminated so long as two racial groups exist within our social structure.

The definition of "Negro" which is sanctioned by the mores of this country, and by the laws where such laws have been enacted, is social rather than biological. In America today, anyone who is known to have a Negro ancestor, no matter how remote, is considered a Negro. Thus there are many "colored people" in America whose ancestry is preponderantly white and who have more of the physical characteristics of white people than they do of colored people. How this definition of "Negro" came to be so widely accepted in this country, no one can say,

though there are many theories. In Latin America, the reverse of the situation is true; there those of mixed parentage are considered white. Yet, in popular thought in this country, any Negro ancestry is sufficient to classify a person as Negro. On this score, the laws follow popular thought. In many of the Western states laws which prohibit intermarriage define a Negro as "anyone known to have any Negro ancestry whatsoever." In Southern states the definition most commonly used permits a person with up to one-eighth Negro ancestry to be called "white."

Even by this broad social definition, the proportion of Negroes in the population of this country is decreasing. The total number is increasing, as is the number of white people. But the census figures reveal that there has been a decrease in the proportion of Negroes in the total population nearly every decade since 1790. In 1950, 9.8 per cent of the population was Negro.

Of this segment of the population, nearly seventy per cent live in the South. The picture of concentration in this area is changing, however, for there is a constant migration into other areas. There was a great wave of migration out of the South during World War I, and a lesser wave during World War II. At present there is considerable mobility, though it could not properly be called a "wave."

In recent years the Negroes have been moving to the cities of the South quite rapidly. In 1910, seventy-eight per cent of the Negro population was rural, but in 1950 the figure had dropped to thirty-nine per cent. Among white people there was also a trend toward urbanization, though it was not nearly so pronounced.

Economically, the Negro is at a disadvantage in this country. To begin with, the Negro population is con-

centrated in the South, the poorest section of the nation. Furthermore, a disproportionate number of the Negroes are in agriculture, where the income is low. Few of them are landowners, but rather they are tenants or sharecroppers, and thus are at a tremendous economic disadvantage. For the most part, Negro employment in Southern industry is severely limited. Negroes are traditionally excluded from the textile plants, except in certain of the more undesirable jobs. More are employed in the tobacco industry. Although many new industries have come into the South since 1930—synthetics, paper and pulp industries, gas and electric companies, expansion in furniture manufacturing, and many others—Negroes have been unable, for the most part, to secure employment in them. They are generally excluded from the skilled trades, except for the trowel trades. By 1930 there were virtually no Negro engineers on the railroads, and now white men are taking over the fireman's job. There are, of course, some Negroes in the professions and the "white-collar" occupations. Their clientele, however, is almost exclusively Negro, and that means immediately that their economic possibilities are limited. Furthermore, because of certain legal and social conditions, the Negro professionals, particularly the lawyers and the doctors, have difficulty competing with white professionals.

In the field of education the Negro has been at a disadvantage also. During the past decade the facilities for Negro education have been much improved, partly because of the fear that segregated educational facilities would be declared unconstitutional and the hope that equal facilities might forestall such action. Thus, for example, the average annual salary of Negro teachers in the South increased during the twelve-year period ending 1951-52 three times as much as did the average annual

salary of white teachers. Other qualitative measures of Southern schooling show similar, if less spectacular, improvement in educational opportunities for Negroes.

The current educational picture in the South, however, is one of inequality, by whatever standard it is judged. For example, in every Southern state except Virginia and North Carolina the average annual salary of Negro teachers is considerably lower than that of white teachers. In Mississippi, where the contrast is greatest, there is a difference of over a thousand dollars! In Virginia and North Carolina, teachers receive equal pay for equal preparation and experience. But in every Southern state the total per-pupil expenditure is considerably more for white pupils than it is for Negroes. The South as a whole spends for the education of each Negro pupil less than seventy-five per cent of what it spends for the education of each white pupil. The average daily attendance of pupils per teacher is consistently higher for Negroes than for white people. Negroes make up approximately thirty per cent of the pupils enrolled in the public schools of the South, but the value of the school property of Negro schools is about fifteen per cent of the total for both racial groups. Thus the South has been living for generations with the "separate but equal" philosophy without ever approximating equality.

Because of inadequate financial support, institutions of higher learning for Negroes generally do not measure up to the standards set by regional accrediting agencies. There are some outstanding Negro colleges in the South, but most of the schools are poorly equipped. As late as 1951 there were only seventeen Negro institutions of higher learning which offered graduate work leading to a master's degree. In that same year no Negro institution had a program for a Ph.D. degree, though North Caro-

lina College at Durham was making plans for such a program. Before 1945 there were only three law schools and two medical schools in the South where Negroes could receive training. Since 1945 decisions by the Supreme Court have been forcing state universities to open the doors of graduate schools to Negroes, and some church-related schools have voluntarily admitted them. In 1956, one hundred and sixty-four formerly white institutions in the South were open to Negroes. Ninety-five of these were opened to Negroes after May 1, 1954. South Carolina was the only state in which there was not at least one school admitting pupils of both races. Everywhere except the University of Alabama the adjustment was made without serious difficulty.

The Supreme Court decisions on segregation in state universities paved the way for contesting segregation in the whole public school system. The Court ruled that facilities for graduate education were not equal, and could not be made equal because of certain intangible considerations. The 1954 decision declaring that segregation in public education is *per se* unconstitutional has not yet appreciably altered the situation in most places, though radical changes clearly are in the offing.

Reaction to the 1954 decision regarding segregation in the public schools has been varied. The loudest reactions have been those of a group determined to maintain segregation in the schools at any cost. Clearly the majority of white Southerners wish to maintain the present system, and the officials of many state governments seem determined to find some way of circumventing the decision of the Court. It remains to be seen how drastic the states are willing to be in dealing with the public schools and how effective any measure may be. Predictions are always dangerous, but it is scarcely likely that any steps can be

taken which will do more than retard the process of integration in the schools.

The majority of Negroes in the South, particularly Negro leaders, and a minority of white people have welcomed the decision as thoroughly consistent with both Christian and democratic principles. This group is not so vocal as those opposing the decision, but they are attempting to prepare themselves and their communities for the necessarily difficult transition. They are not unaware of the problems which have already arisen, and they recognize that more problems will arise. They do not minimize the power of the mores, but they realize that the mores do change, and they believe that wise direction can be given to the change.

Scarcely less significant than the changes in the field of education have been the changes in the political realm. The Negro is becoming a more important figure in both national and local politics. Historically a number of ingenious legal methods of disfranchising the Negro have been used in the South. Only recently have those methods been challenged successfully. The poll tax, for example, has been used to keep the number of Negro voters at a minimum. Originally this levy, one of the oldest forms of taxation, was designed to produce revenue, and its payment was usually compulsory. In many Southern states, however, the payment of the poll tax was made a prerequisite to voting. In some states the tax was cumulative so that a person desiring to vote but not having paid his poll tax for four or five years might find himself confronted with a tax of five to ten dollars which he must pay before he could vote. This method obviously works to the political disadvantage of the low-income group, which embraces the majority of Negroes. It also disfranchises a number of poor white people, but the smaller

the vote, the easier it is for the political machine to control. At present only five states—Mississippi, Alabama, Virginia, Texas, and Arkansas—make payment of the poll tax a prerequisite to voting.

Some states still limit the right to vote by means of property, educational, and character requirements. Six Southern states, for example, require that a person be able to read and explain a section of the federal or state constitution *to the satisfaction of the registrar*. The test is applied at the discretion of the registrar. In three states, the ownership of a minimum amount of property may be substituted for the educational requirement. In two states voters must be of "good character." In those two states it is usually required that a Negro be vouched for by a white person before he is allowed to register.

The most ingenious recent development in the attempt legally to disfranchise the Negro was the white primary. In a number of states it was held that the political parties were purely voluntary associations, and that they had the right, therefore, to restrict membership in any way which they desired. In the one-party South it is actually the primary which decides the election. In the Southern states well over seventy per cent of all votes cast are Democratic. In two states, South Carolina and Mississippi, over ninety per cent of all votes are Democratic. If the Negro is not privileged to participate in the primary vote, he has no real voice in the selection of elected officials. In 1944 the Supreme Court of the United States declared that the white primary is illegal, since the primary is a part of the governmental election machinery. South Carolina then tried to put the primary entirely into the hands of the Democratic party by calling a special session of the state legislature and wiping off the books all laws which had a reference to the primary. The Democratic

party was then reorganized into a "private club." However, in 1947 the Supreme Court ruled that such action was likewise illegal, and no state now attempts to conduct such an election.

Far more important than the legal methods of disfranchising the Negro, however, are the extralegal ones. An active Ku Klux Klan organization has always been effective. Merely the burning of a cross in a public place or a parade of the Klan has often been sufficient. Sometimes crosses have been burned in the yards of Negro leaders. Individuals have been taken from their homes and whipped. Leaflets warning against attempting to vote have been circulated in Negro communities. When such activity has occurred, it has taken more courage—or foolhardiness—than most people possess for a Negro to go to the polls.

Another widely used extralegal method of depriving the Negro of his right to vote has been to make it difficult for him to register. At the time of registration, tricky registration blanks have often been used, with no assistance given to Negroes and no errors overlooked. Then, at the time of voting Negroes who thought they were properly registered were informed that there were errors on their registration blanks and that they were therefore ineligible to vote. Some registrars have prevented Negro registration by saying that they had run out of registration cards, or that not all members of the board were present, or that the applicant was supposed to register somewhere else, or that he was supposed to register at some other time. All of these are illegal methods, but they have often been effective in keeping Negroes from voting.

The legal foundations for Negro disfranchisement are being destroyed gradually, and an enlightened leadership

is helping the Negro population exercise their right to vote. For that reason the number of Negroes who vote is growing rapidly. It is impossible to discover how many actually vote, but it is possible to estimate rather closely how many are properly registered. Most of those who are registered do vote. According to a survey conducted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in 1951, approximately 914,000 Negroes were properly registered in the Southern states. The right of the Negro to vote is now a settled issue, and serious efforts to deprive him of that right are made only at the local level. Such efforts may last for a time but cannot endure permanently.

A natural result of the actual enfranchising of the Negro is office-seeking by Negroes. The first Negro to be elected to public office in the South in recent years was C. W. Anderson, elected to the Kentucky legislature in 1936. Beginning with the election of the Reverend Kenneth W. Williams to the Board of Aldermen of Winston-Salem, N. C., in 1947, a number of Negro city councilmen have been elected throughout the South. Most of those elected have had the support of both Negro and white citizens, for in most instances the Negroes alone could not have elected a council member. The Negro can never be a full citizen until he has the right to run for local, state, and national offices, not on a "Negro" ticket, but on his own merits. The possibility of the election of a Negro to a state or national office seems remote indeed, but the election of Negro councilmen in Southern cities suggests that it may be nearer than we think.

Closely related to the selection of public officials is the enforcement of the laws. In the South this function is almost entirely in the hands of the white man. It is true

that in recent years a number of Southern cities have employed some Negro policemen, and now in every state there are some cities with Negroes on the police force. This practice has improved the quality of protection given Negro citizens and the enforcement of law in the Negro areas of the cities. Even more important, it has given the Negro citizens a sense of participation in, and therefore a sense of responsibility for, law enforcement. However, the vast majority of Southern towns and cities still employ only white policemen. The courts likewise are still predominantly white. There are Negro lawyers in the South, but their possibilities are quite limited. There are no Negro judges in the South.

Another important factor in the present situation is health. The Negroes of the South have a much greater health problem than do the white people. Their infant mortality rate is nearly twice as high as that of white people. Their life expectancy is eight years less than that of white people. The birth rate of Negroes is higher than that of white people, but so is the death rate. Many factors, including economics and education, are involved in these differentials. Not the least important consideration is the inadequate medical care. Nowhere in the South are there enough hospital beds available to Negroes. It is true that the picture is changing now, largely because of the Hospital Survey and Construction Act passed by the Congress of the United States in August, 1946. It is also true that in some areas not all the medical facilities available to Negroes are used. However, many of the Negro hospitals should be replaced, and most of them are overcrowded. In many states the number of hospital beds available per 1,000 white people is nearly twice the number available per 1,000 Negroes.

Even in religion the pattern of segregation is almost unbroken in the South. The majority of Negro Christians in this country are in Negro denominations. For the most part, these organizations are distinguishable from some of the white church groups only in that their membership is exclusively Negro. Indeed, ninety per cent of all Negro Christians are either Baptist or Methodist, and their doctrines are the same as those of other Baptists and Methodists. It is true, as is often pointed out, that the Negro groups originated when Negroes voluntarily withdrew from white groups, both on a local level and on a denominational level. They withdrew, however, because their membership in a predominantly white group was a second-class membership, without full privileges and equality. At present there is little contact between these similar groups of Christians. White Baptists and white Methodists, for example, have much closer contact and much better understanding of each other than do white Baptists and Negro Baptists. When the Methodist Church was formed by the merger of the three largest white Methodist groups in this country in 1939, an effort was made to include the Negro groups. But because they were to be segregated in the "Central Jurisdiction" most Negroes refused to join. For every Negro in The Methodist Church, there are six in separate Negro Methodist denominations.

Throughout the South, the system of social segregation is sanctioned by the mores, and in many aspects by the law as well. At its foundation is residential segregation. Wherever there are Negroes in appreciable numbers in a town, they are concentrated in one area or in several small areas. This concentration is not enforceable by law, but in most communities the mores are so powerful

that there is no question as to what areas are open to Negroes. Population trends being what they are, this segregation works a tremendous hardship upon Negroes. The Negro population in most towns is growing even more rapidly than the white population, but Negro residential areas are being little expanded. The result is overcrowding both in housing and in such services as schools, recreational facilities, hospitalization, and the like.

One by one the legal sanctions of segregation are being destroyed. Federal courts have made it clear in cases which have come under their jurisdiction that segregation on the basis of race is unconstitutional. Restrictive covenants, segregation in interstate commerce, and segregation in the armed forces have all been overruled. But the mores remain, and they govern personal relationships which are not touched by law. These mores serve to keep the Negro and the white person apart by social pressure. They make it difficult for the Negro and the white person to meet, and if they meet the mores regulate the content and manner of their conversation. Like the laws, the mores are subject to change, and an increasing number of white people are ignoring them in various phases of personal contact. Some newspapers are dropping the custom of designating persons as "Negro" in news accounts, and are according the titles of respect, "Mr.," "Mrs.," and "Miss," to Negroes. More and more the sports and the arts are being opened to Negroes.

One cannot regard the present situation in race relations with any real understanding without realizing that we are entering a new era. We still belong more to the old order than to the new, but it is possible to predict the new in terms of changes now in the making. Clearly

integration is taking place. Large segments of our population, both Negro and white, are not prepared for it and cling to cherished prejudices with the conviction that the preservation of the old order is essential to the well-being of the nation. But integration will not long be delayed in those areas which can be regulated by law, and who can doubt that it will soon follow in other areas of life?

CHAPTER 3

WHAT DO YOU THINK?

"If the blind man leads a blind man, both will fall into a pit."

—Matthew 15:14

The system of segregation, as it exists in the South today, cannot be viewed completely objectively by those involved in the situation. The system separates Negroes from whites, but that separation, however much it may be sanctioned by laws and mores, impinges upon the lives of persons. It is persons who react to the laws and the mores, persons who suffer from discrimination, persons whose spirits are wounded by the act of discriminating against others. Those of us who live within the situation find it impossible to be objective. Invariably we become involved emotionally. We come from a background which prejudices us for or against the system. We cannot therefore raise questions about the system without also raising the question, What does this mean for me? Indeed, perhaps the most important factor in segregation and discrimination is the attitudes of the persons on both sides of the color line.

From a Christian point of view it is entirely proper that we ask, What does this mean for me? We may not base our answers to moral issues on that question. An ethical relativism which makes personal advantage the final point of reference is entirely unacceptable to the Christian. But having discovered what is right in terms of Christian principle, we must modify our actions to conform to the standard. Thus, when we know the moral principles which have a bearing upon race relations, we must translate those principles into social and personal action.

It is impossible to write accurately of "what the Negro thinks" or of "what the white man thinks." No one person can properly give expression to the views of such a large number of people, for there is no unanimity of opinion. The groups are made up of individuals, and individuals think and act more or less independently of each other, not as a unit. It is presumptuous for a white man to try to write of "what the Negro thinks." No person who has not lived under Jim Crow laws can really say what are the emotions and thoughts produced by such restrictions. No one who has not been relegated to a second-class status, regardless of individual qualifications but solely on the basis of membership in a specific group, can really understand the mind and spirit of those who are circumscribed by laws and mores merely because they are Negroes. Yet it is possible to make some general statements which will be fairly accurate descriptions of large segments of the population.

There are some Negroes who approve of the system of segregation which is practiced in the South. They sincerely feel that it is to the best interest of the Negroes for separation to be maintained. They give their allegiance to the "separate but equal" philosophy. Recognizing that the facilities have been separate but not equal,

they greet with rejoicing any attempt to equalize facilities, but they look with disapproval upon any attempt to destroy the system. This group is probably not nearly so large as many white people believe, because the attitude is most likely to be found among that class of Negroes with whom white people have most frequent contact—the servant class. On the other hand, it is less likely to be found among those Negroes with whom white people have little contact—the business and professional men and women.

A word of caution should be heard here: the lack of desire to make a specific change should not be confused with approval of the system. A Negro high school student, for example, may say that he does not want to go to the white school. His statement does not necessarily mean that he approves of segregation. It may mean that he is afraid that he would not be treated right by the white students. Or it may mean that he has attachments to the school he is already attending. His girl friend may be there, or he may be in the band, or he may be on the football team. But his preference for a given school does not mean that he prefers segregation.

Furthermore, many Negroes who are believed by their white neighbors to approve of segregation actually do not. They find it expedient to deceive white people on this score. Thus they say that they approve the system even though they are quite bitter in their opposition to it. They say what they believe it necessary to say if they are to get along with their white neighbors, but they look to the day when deception will no longer be a necessity.

It is probable that a large percentage of those Negroes who actually support the system of segregation do so for economic reasons. If a man's job is likely to be endangered by integration, or if his business thrives on race

pride, he will find it difficult to oppose the system which strengthens his economic security. Many of those who support the system of segregation probably do so because it is the system in which they were reared and which they have been taught to believe is right. This is particularly true among the older Negroes. There doubtless are few Negroes who have no acquaintance whatsoever with any other system. Many have either lived or visited outside the South, and the military services gave a considerable number of young men some experience in the nonsegregated way of life. In spite of those contacts outside the South, however, there are those who feel that integration "just isn't the right thing." Their reason for such feeling is the fact that from childhood they have been indoctrinated to support segregation. However large this group may be, its number is rapidly decreasing.

A second attitude of Negroes toward segregation is that of acceptance. Many Negroes neither approve nor disapprove of the situation, but merely accept it. They recognize that segregation is at present a part of the "Southern way of life." They do not realize, any more than do their white neighbors, that the Jim Crow laws are of comparatively recent origin, dating back, for the most part, only to the late nineteenth century. Neither do they realize the extent to which the pattern of segregation is breaking down. They simply live within the situation, adjusting their lives to it.

It is impossible to estimate the percentage of Negroes who hold to any one of these views, but it is probable that this attitude of acceptance was the view of a majority of Southern Negroes before World War II. The masses of people generally are inactive and accept the *status quo* in all situations. Usually there are stirrings of discontent in all places where large numbers of people are op-

pressed. But those stirrings do not erupt into rebellion except under adequate leadership. Such leadership was developing among the Negroes in the period before the war. During and following the war it emerged full-grown.

It should be understood that acceptance does not imply approval. It simply means that the Southern Negroes accommodated themselves to the situation. In order to earn their living and to enjoy the fruits of their labor, they accepted certain restrictions imposed upon them by the white people. They accepted the identification of certain jobs as "Negro jobs," and they agreed to the code of etiquette governing contacts between Negroes and whites. In order to secure some education for their children, they agreed to segregated and inferior schools. In order to watch good movies, they agreed to sit in "Jim Crow" sections. In order to travel, they agreed to accept separate waiting rooms and rest rooms, rear seats in buses, and separate railroad cars. They did not make the laws sanctioning these practices, for they had little or no voice in the legislative process. They realized that in most instances these practices relegated them to second-class services and facilities. But they believed that under the circumstances they could expect no more.

Accepting the pattern, some Negroes, particularly the business and professional classes, have found it possible—and desirable—to live their whole lives with a minimum of contact with white people. A Negro schoolteacher, for example, can do her work, buy her food and clothes, go to the movies, go to church, and the like, without ever having contact with white people. Whereas contacts with white people would be conditioned primarily upon the fact that she is a Negro, she can limit her contacts to people who consider her first of all as a person. If she

ventures outside her little community, life can become quite distasteful. Living within her community, life can be less embarrassing.

Yet, for her, such a life has not been entirely free of the evils of the situation. The superintendent of schools, a white man, may be quite reluctant to address her as "Miss." She may encounter difficulty and embarrassment if she tries to exercise her right to vote. The facilities with which she works may be inadequate and inferior to those of her white neighbor. She can therefore never get away entirely from the fact that the conditions of her life are determined by white people largely on the basis of the fact that she is a Negro.

Many Negro leaders have been adherents to the philosophy of "gradualism." They have not approved of Jim Crow, but they have urged the Negroes to accept the situation and do the best possible under the limitations. They have wanted to improve conditions, but they have been convinced that the best approach is to tackle the problems one by one, and to demand no radical changes in a brief period of time. They have often cited the great advances made by the Negroes since emancipation, and have insisted that by moving gradually the Negroes ultimately will have full rights of citizenship. They have been cautious in demanding their rights as citizens, anxious lest something be done which will jeopardize their present status by arousing the hostility of the white people.

In a sense, this is a realistic approach, for the economic and political power has been concentrated in the hands of the white people. Therefore, all changes have been conditioned, at least in part, upon the attitude of the whites. It is true that in some instances life and property

have been endangered and privileges have been withdrawn because the dominant white group felt that the Negroes were going too far.

In another sense, however, this is an unrealistic approach. In general, white people have encouraged Negro leaders who have held this view because it has helped to keep the power in the hands of the whites. So long as benefits are bestowed upon the Negroes by the whites, it is clear who retains control. Furthermore, this viewpoint does not represent a real challenge to the *status quo*. Concessions can be made without involving any fundamental change in the system. Therefore, following this kind of leadership the Negro can never hope to achieve his rightful status as a citizen of the nation, nor as a brother in the kingdom of God.

An increasingly large and effective group of Negroes is vigorously protesting the whole system of segregation. To them the accommodating leader is an "Uncle Tom," a Negro who "knows his place and stays in it." They are convinced that the entire system must be challenged and changed, and they are attacking the system through law, religion, politics, and education. They are even attacking the mores with some degree of success. This protest is nothing new, for the spirit of protest has been alive among Negroes since the slave revolts of pre-Civil War days. It has not always been organized, but it has always been in evidence to those sufficiently alert to detect it.

On the part of Negroes there are many unplanned and unorganized expressions of hostility to the present system. Sometimes it is simply in the form of insistence on the right to courtesy from white people in his own home or in his own place of business. He may insist on being addressed as "Mr." or on "first come, first served" in a

department store. Occasionally this hostility is expressed directly by physical violence. In such cases it usually is a reaction against insult or injustice, though some Negroes have such a deep-seated resentment that they have established a pattern of violent behavior in dealing with white people.

There are also many covert and subtle expressions of hostility, which even the Negro himself may not recognize. Among the lower-class Negroes unexplained quitting of jobs, irregularity at work, gossip, and malingering are frequently used weapons in the conflict with whites. For many Negroes, owning and driving a big car serves the purpose. Upper-class Negroes have more refined ways, such as extreme courtesy in dealing with white people, or playing one group against another. All of these and many other expressions of hostility should be sufficient to give pause for thought to the white person who insists that "the Negro is happy as he is."

There is an abundant literature of hostility produced by Negro writers. Richard Wright's novels have voiced the feelings not only of Wright but of a multitude of Negroes. The writings of J. Saunders Redding are often extreme in expression, and bitter almost beyond belief, so that sometimes they go beyond most Negro leaders, but this author should not be ignored. On the scholarly level, the work of such men as Charles S. Johnson, presented carefully and objectively, represents nevertheless the spirit of protest.

The protests of Negroes have often been more or less effectively organized. There are at present a number of organizations designed to improve the legal, political, cultural, or economic situation of the Negroes. Such professional groups as the National Negro Business League, the National Negro Bankers' Association, and

the National Teachers' Association fall into this category. So does the National Negro Congress, founded in 1935 as an agency through which a large number of Negro trade, religious, fraternal, and civic groups could work for economic and social betterment. The Southern Regional Council, interracial in membership and concerned with many problems other than race relations, is concerned with improving the lot of the Negro and provides the educated Negro with an effective sounding board for his protest.

At present the most successful and most widely publicized protest agency is the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This organization was founded in 1909 with the long-run objective of winning full equality for the Negro as a citizen of the United States. Its national offices are in New York City, and local associations are found all over the nation. It is not made up exclusively of Negroes, though they comprise the majority of its membership. In 1955 it had more than 300,000 members, most of whom came from the upper classes.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has done much lobbying, both in Washington and in state capitals. In some instances it has become involved in political campaigns against candidates who were considered guilty of race bias. It carries on an educational campaign through the various media of communication. Its chief emphasis, however, has been on the legal approach. Through the courts it has fought for fair trials for Negroes charged with crimes, for the right of Negroes to vote, for the elimination of segregation in interstate travel. Through the courts it has first fought inequality in segregated educational facilities, and now has successfully challenged the system of segregation it-

self. The Association is convinced that all legal sanctions of discrimination and segregation on the basis of race are contrary to the Constitution of the United States and can therefore be challenged successfully in the courts of the nation. They do not hold that all of the problems of human relations can be solved by legal processes, but they do believe that the door is closed to real and significant progress in human relations wherever legal sanctions to segregation remain. They look upon their chief function, therefore, as the elimination of such legal barriers and the guarantee of full rights of citizenship.

The court cases in which the NAACP has been involved have been a part of the over-all strategy of the organization. It is not a "legal aid society" for Negroes, seeking to become involved in all cases where Negroes are concerned. Rather, the cases into which it has entered have been chosen carefully in the light of the purpose of the Association. It has been expected at the outset that some cases would reach the Supreme Court of the United States, and that the Supreme Court decisions would set the pattern for future decisions in the lower courts.

Attitudes toward the NAACP vary, among both Negroes and white people, but all must recognize that as a protest agency it is the most effective instrument available to Negroes. An increasingly large number of Negroes are turning to it, and through it are fighting for full citizenship.

No better summary of the attitude of the thinking Negroes of our country has been given than that which Dr. Whitney Young, of the Atlanta University School of Social Work, gave in his answer to the question, "What does the Negro want?"

The answer is: nothing special—just what everybody else wants—nothing less and nothing more. We don't

want any special jobs saved for us or withheld from us. We don't want any special cars in which to ride, or special schools to which to go. We don't want any special houses or blocks in which to live, or special units of the Armed Forces from which to fight for freedom. We don't want any special marks of identification or rules governing our right to vote. We don't want any special favors to put us ahead—we don't want any special agreements to hold us back. All we want is equal opportunity with all other Americans to live and work and play, to vote and get an education, and be promoted, to fight for our country and—hope to be president like everybody else. More than that we do not ask, but with less than that we shall never be content.¹

Like the Negroes, the white people of the South are divided in their attitudes on the race issue. It is probably accurate to say that, in the past, the majority of white people have been indifferent to the situation. They have accepted segregation as right because it was the pattern into which they were born and in which they were reared. Few white people actually have thought seriously about the matter. Few, indeed, have really understood what segregation does to the Negro. Most Southern white people who have sanctioned the pattern have not been malicious, but uninformed. They have been prejudiced, for they have accepted as valid, without examination, the system of segregation, and have been convinced that such is the only pattern for a satisfactory way of life.

The attack on segregation shocked a large percentage of the white Southerners, for they were completely unprepared for any such attack. They should have realized that the system was under fire long before they did, for the legal activities of the NAACP followed a very definite

¹Quoted in *Human Relations Bulletin* Number 2, July, 1955, issued by the North Carolina Council on Human Relations.

course, and a glance over the court cases of the past few years clearly reveals the pattern of development. Yet, it was only when the five cases challenging the constitutionality of segregation in the public schools were before the Supreme Court of the United States that the masses of white Southerners realized what was going on.

In the present situation many people are genuinely fearful. The legal foundations of their way of life have crumbled; the new pattern has not yet been worked out. They are afraid of anything other than what they have known, but they know that that way is doomed. Politicians have talked in terms of defying the ruling of the Supreme Court, of abandoning the public school system, or of finding some means of complying with the ruling and at the same time maintaining the Southern "way of life." All of this talk has added fuel to the fire of fear and confusion. In general, it may be said that most Southern governors, attorneys general, legislators, and school board members have been so determined to find means of evading the law that they have been unwilling to seek help from those communities which have had successful experience in integrating the school systems. Furthermore, they have spoken of "what the Negro really wants" and of "what is really to the best interest of all the people" without consulting the Negroes themselves and without real regard to the statements made by Negro leaders. For the most part, therefore, official reactions to the Supreme Court rulings on segregation have been the reactions of one segment of our population. It cannot even be said that these reactions are representative of all the white people of the South, as we shall see.

In their attitude toward Negroes, some Southern white people are actually hostile. This hostility is not reasoned nor intelligent; rather it is fundamentally a part of the

emotional life of the individual. In a given individual it may be rooted in some unfortunate experience or in training. Since it is irrational, it can hardly be dealt with on a rational basis. It is often expressed in bitter, railing statements, in frequently used expressions of contempt, in the determination to be rude to all Negroes, in the denial of the respect that is due all human beings.

In the period immediately following World War II there was a revival of the Ku Klux Klan. The literature of the Klan was careful not to use terms of contempt and hatred, but it is obvious that this attitude was the foundation of the Klan material. Furthermore, a large majority of the Klan members, if not all of them, had feelings of extreme bitterness and hostility toward all Negroes.

It is probable that most Southern white people are paternalistic in their attitude toward Negroes. They look upon the Negro as inherently inferior to the white man and therefore destined to be subservient to him. So long as the Negro stays "in his place" he may depend upon kindly, if not just, treatment from white people. If he is willing to live within the bounds set by law and custom, if he does not challenge the etiquette of Southern Negro-white relations, if he is willing to regard every white man as his superior, then the Southern Negro can get along very well with the Southern white man.

Many Southerners are fond of saying that the Northerner loves the Negro as a race and despises him as an individual, while the Southerner hates the Negro as a race but loves him as an individual. They point to close friendships which are fairly common between white people and Negroes. They also point out how kindly white men and women treat the servants in their homes, how generous they are in dealing with unfortunate Negro

families. It cannot and should not be denied that such kindly relationships do exist. It should be noted, however, that they exist between middle- and upper-class white people on the one hand, and lower-class Negroes on the other. A Southern white woman may visit her Negro cook if she is ill, but the same white woman will not visit the wife of a Negro physician who is ill. The friendship is that of a "superior" for an "inferior," and is never on a basis of equality. Such friendships often are deep and enduring, but they always recognize the status of both parties. Thus the Negro who regards himself as the equal of the white man is cut off from possible friendship with him.

The rising educational and economic level of the Negro has helped to strengthen the Southern white man's devotion to the "separate but equal" philosophy. As more and more Negroes have become unwilling to accept the paternalistic relationship, many white people have been forced to concede that facilities and opportunities should be improved, but they have insisted that the races should be separate. If the relationship cannot be paternalistic, they want to have as little as possible to do with the Negro. They may even reach the point of courtesy and respect in dealing with educated and cultured Negro men and women, but they insist that there should be no personal relationships between Negroes and white people. This is, interestingly enough, a complete reversal of one aspect of the attitude of paternalism.

A fundamental element in the paternalistic attitude toward Negroes is allegiance to the doctrine of "no social equality." Ultimately all discussions of desegregation are likely to be pushed back to that issue. The term "social equality" is used to mean the free intermingling of people on a basis of equality without regard to race. The

horror of Southern white people at the prospect of social equality is based on the fear of amalgamation and the determination to protect the "purity of the white race." This matter will be discussed in a later chapter, but the doctrine itself is fundamental to an understanding of the paternalistic attitude. This attitude assumes the superiority of the white race and insists that that superiority must be protected by guarding its purity. It is argued that the purity of the white race can be protected only by permitting no situations in which Negro men and white women meet on a basis of equality.

The etiquette regulating contacts between Negroes and white people in the paternalistic South is well defined, and it is understood by the members of both races. It governs conduct in homes, both of white people and of Negroes; it determines the form of address; it governs conversations; it governs the use of public service facilities. It prohibits eating together, or even sitting together in waiting rooms or conferences. In short, it runs the whole gamut of human activities and subjects all of them to rather rigid regulation. It is true that many of the taboos are breaking down and many of the practices are changing, but the basic pattern remains the same.

There is yet a third attitude which is taken by some Southern white people toward the Negro—that of brotherhood. There are those who look upon the Negro first of all as a person, and only incidentally as a Negro. It is exceedingly difficult for a white person who has been reared in the South to rid himself of the feeling of superiority, but it is possible. The task is made more difficult by the fact that the majority of Negroes with whom the white people come into contact conduct themselves in accordance with the paternalistic mores of the region. But for many people the logic of the principles

of democracy and of the Christian faith is so inexorable that they give their allegiance to the principle of brotherhood and attempt to bring their practices into harmony with that principle.

The person who takes this position cannot help being aware that his views are different and that when he makes any attempt to improve human relations he is doing something out of the ordinary. For that reason it is difficult for him to be perfectly natural in dealing with other people. It is hard for him actually to become "color blind." His very awareness that he is being brotherly is a token that the differences are significant to him. He is therefore at the point where he needs to pray, "I believe; help my unbelief."

The number of people who hold this view is larger than is commonly believed, and it is growing. A large percentage of this group come from the better-educated class. But education is no guarantee of this view, and there are many with little formal education who nevertheless hold it.

CHAPTER 4

DOES IT MAKE SENSE?

But he, desiring to justify himself, said to Jesus, "And who is my neighbor?"

—Luke 10:29

Discussion of race relations is common in the South, more common than it has ever been before. This new interest in discussing the situation has grown out of recent changes. It received tremendous impetus from the decisions of the Supreme Court of May 17, 1954, and May 31, 1955, which declared that segregation in the public schools on the basis of race is unconstitutional. Since those decisions constitute the most serious challenge to the pattern of segregation yet faced in the South, Southerners are greatly concerned.

A wide variety of arguments are used to justify the pattern of segregation. Most of these arguments are not new. Indeed, they saw service in the pre-Civil War days in the defense of the institution of human slavery and have been dusted off and reworked to sanction the present situation. Other arguments have been in the making for many years, but are just now receiving a finished form.

There is a pseudoscientific argument, based upon the assumption of the essential inferiority of the Negro to the white man. Some people emphasize the biological inferiority of the Negro, and as evidence cite the higher mortality rate, the higher infant mortality rate, and the shorter life-expectancy of Negroes. Such a conclusion is not properly drawn from this evidence, however, for there are certain other factors of physical environment which are involved. Housing, food, the availability and use of medical services and facilities, all affect the health of a person. As was demonstrated in Chapter Two, provisions for the Negro in these areas are less adequate than those for the white man.

More attention is given to the alleged intellectual inferiority of Negroes. Many people insist vehemently that the Negro is incapable of certain kinds of education, that his "intelligence quotient" is demonstrably lower than that of the white man. Many comparative studies have been made, but thus far no scientist has been able to demonstrate positively on the basis of such I.Q. studies that there are any innate differences in intelligence between American Negroes and American white people.

The cultural superiority of the white race is often cited as evidence of racial superiority. The questions are asked, "If the white race is not superior, why is it that its culture is always superior? Specifically, why have there never been any great Negro civilizations? Why have there been no notable inventions by Negroes? Why have there been no outstanding contributions to literature by Negroes?" The answer to these questions is simply that the culture of the white race has not always been superior and that Negroes have made significant contributions to American culture. While Europe was still in a state of semibarbarism, for example, there was a great Negro civilization

in what is now French West Africa. There was a university at Timbuktu which was famous throughout North Africa, Spain, and the Near East. That culture was destroyed by the Moslem conquest in the late fifteenth century. The contributions of that culture to our own life are not commonly known, but they are many and significant. Particularly are we indebted to it for the knowledge of how to smelt and use iron ore and for much of our legal procedure.

To many modern observers, however, it seems evident that the culture of the American Negro is inferior to that of the American white man. They ask, "Where are the great Negro artists, musicians, literary figures? Where are the great Negro inventors? Where are the great Negro businessmen? Does not the absence of such people indicate that the American Negro is incapable of producing them?" The answer to these questions is two-fold. *First*, our history has been so written and taught that the contributions of Negroes to our American culture have been concealed from us. How many white people know, for example, that the pilot on one of Columbus' ships may have been a Negro? How many know of the work of the great Negro educator of pre-Civil War days, John Chavis? How many have heard Marian Anderson sing? How many have studied in school the poetry of James Weldon Johnson? How many know of the great service to the nation and to the world rendered by Ralph Bunche? There seems almost to have been a "conspiracy of silence" regarding the real contributions which Negroes have made and are making to the life of our nation. To remedy this situation, the observance of Negro History Week is urged by many prominent leaders. *Second*, the conditions of life of the majority of American Negroes are not conducive to the production of outstand-

ing persons. For the most part, certain areas of activity have not been open to Negroes. Only recently have Negroes found important places in governmental service, and even now the possibilities are quite limited. Only recently has the entertainment world opened up to Negroes. Only recently has it been possible for Negroes to play ball in the big leagues. Thus, many who were potentially great were barred from the development of their possibilities, and the barriers have not yet been removed.

The average Southern white "man on the street" believes that even the most casual observer can note the cultural inferiority of the majority of Southern Negroes. It is a simple matter to observe the condition of the houses in which Negroes live, to see the dirt and squalor and crowding. Even a superficial reading of the local newspaper reveals their low moral standards. Watching them at work or on the streets or in the buses is sufficient to understand that they are not interested in improving themselves or their conditions. Entirely apart from history or theory, it is obvious that the Negro *is* culturally inferior. Thus runs this line of reasoning. It is not logical reasoning, however. It bases generalizations on casual observation. It confuses cultural characteristics with racial characteristics. It ignores the factors which actually account for the conditions which they observe and says that those conditions are accounted for by race. It further ignores the fact that the description fits many white people equally well as it does some Negroes.

"Inferiority" and "superiority" are vague terms. When they are made specific, the myth fades away. The white person who insists that he is superior to the Negro will have to confess that Thurgood Marshall is a better lawyer than he, or that Jackie Robinson is a better ballplayer.

He will have to confess his inferiority in public service to Ralph Bunche. He will have to admit the superiority of Marian Anderson's musical ability and of Goose Tatum's ability to handle a basketball. When, therefore, content is given to these vague terms, it becomes clear that one person is superior to another in some ways and inferior in others. And these areas of superiority and inferiority are not matters of race but of personal abilities and training.

Closely related to the argument that the Negro is inferior is the argument that the purity of the races, and particularly of the white race, must be preserved. Some people insist that there are significant and observable differences between the races. Those who hold to the concept of the superiority of the white race claim that the welfare of society depends upon preserving the purity of that race and that any marriage of a white person and a member of another race is bound to produce inferior offspring. There are others who say that the Negro race is not necessarily inferior to the white race but that the differences between the two are such that only evil can result from their mixture. There is therefore a horror of "mongrelization" of the race. It should be noted that "mongrelization" is not a scientific term. The scientific term for the process in question is "amalgamation." The term "mongrelization" is an emotion-laden word, implying that the product of amalgamation is of necessity inferior.

The ban on intermarriage is basic in the system of segregation. The regulations governing contact between persons become more intense and rigid the closer the contacts are related to sex and marriage. Thus a Negro dancing with a white person is strictly taboo, and eating together is scarcely less so. On the other hand, in matters

of work or public transportation or shopping the regulations are not so rigid. This fear of intermarriage, therefore, provides probably the most potent sanction of the system of segregation. Almost invariably it becomes involved in discussions of the race situation, and to Southerners it poses a real problem in connection with the integration of the public school system. Mixed marriages are prohibited by law in all Southern states and in many of the states outside the South as well.

If the white race is superior, then the ban on intermarriage and the argument that the purity of the race must be preserved are quite logical. But if, on the other hand, there is no superior race, as has been indicated, then there is no logic to the argument. The scientists have in fact had serious difficulty in determining what racial characteristics are and have found it necessary to speak in the most general of terms in defining race. Furthermore, the differences which they have designated are quite superficial: skin pigmentation, texture of hair, and eyes. Even in these characteristics there is wide variety, so that it is impossible really to give an accurate description of either racial type. But to say that a person's skin is darker, or that his eyes slant, is scarcely adequate basis for saying that that person is inferior.

The fear of mongrelization remains. Even if there is no inferior race, does not the mixture of the races produce "mongrels" who combine in themselves not the best but the worst qualities of both races? This argument scarcely merits a serious answer, but there are many people who are greatly disturbed by it. The fact of the matter is that the race of a person's ancestors seems not to enter into the picture at all in determining his abilities. The list of Negroes who have made notable achievements

in our day includes many who are known to have mixed ancestry. Ralph Bunche, Don Newcomb, Marian Anderson, Walter White, and many others fall into this category. When to these positive examples of achievements of people of mixed ancestry is added the total lack of scientific evidence to support the fear, the horror of a "mongrel race" fades away.

Religion, like science, is often used to sanction the pattern of segregation. The argument that the purity of the race must be preserved is often given a religious sanction by saying, "The Lord didn't intend for the races to be mixed." If he had not intended for the races to remain entirely apart from each other, the argument runs, he would have made them all alike. Thus, the fact that the races are different demands, with divine sanction, that they be kept apart. In a biracial society, it is argued, separate but equal facilities is the only pattern of life which can possibly have divine approval. But this argument, when carried to a logical conclusion, has most interesting implications. By the same logic it could be proved that separate but equal facilities should be provided for blonds, brunettes, and redheads! It could be proved that people with naturally wavy hair should not marry people with naturally straight hair. It could be proved that a person whose native tongue is Spanish should have only a minimum of contact with a person whose native tongue is English, though they may live next door to each other.

A much-abused passage of scripture is often used to sanction not only segregation but also the relegation of the Negro to a status of servitude. This is the famous curse on Ham, found in Genesis 9:25-27. In that poetic curse is found the statement:

"Cursed be Canaan;
a slave of slaves shall he
be to his brothers."

On the basis of this passage it is argued that the Lord cursed the Negro race, and decreed that they should be the servants of their brethren. Two significant facts about the passage are overlooked in this interpretation. The first is that it identifies the Negro race with Canaan. According to the older terminology of the anthropologists, the Negroid peoples were called the Hamitic race. However, the son of Ham who was cursed was Canaan, and his descendants were the Canaanites, a Semitic rather than a Negroid people. So that it was not the Negroes but the Canaanites who were thus cursed. The second fact that is frequently overlooked is that it was not God who did the cursing, but Noah. Furthermore, when the curse was uttered, Noah had just awakened from a drunken sleep, doubtless had a hangover, and was in a mood to curse someone. One is inclined to wonder just how binding is a curse uttered by a man under such circumstances.

One of the most potent arguments sanctioning segregation is charged with emotion. It assumes the validity of the concepts of the inferiority of the Negro and of race purity. It also assumes that the complete separation of the races has divine sanction. It does not, however, depend upon them for its force. Indeed, for most people this is a sufficient argument entirely apart from the others. The argument is simply the question, "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" Calm and logical discussion becomes virtually impossible when this question is raised. Yet it too demands examination.

To begin with, the hazards of mixed marriages must be recognized. They do not occur very often in Amer-

ican society, even in areas where there is no segregation in the public schools. Nor is there any evidence that the number of mixed marriages is increasing. The hazards of such marriages, where they do occur, are essentially social ones. There are few social groups in this country where a couple involved in a mixed marriage are acceptable. Family opposition on one or both sides increases the problems of adjustments in marriage. The couple themselves cannot be totally indifferent to the thinking of the people with whom they associate, and the tension of the social situation inevitably affects their relationships with one another. The problems are intensified with the arrival of children, for the children of such marriages suffer disapproval and discrimination, and the parents suffer through the children. All of these hazards combine to make the contracting of such a marriage unwise.

Actually there is no such thing as an interracial marriage, for races don't marry; it is persons who marry. The question, "Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" implies that the only fact about this particular man which is really significant is the fact that he is a Negro. The statement, "He is a Negro," therefore, is considered an adequate and an accurate description of the person. But is it an adequate description of another man to say, "He is a white man"? Are there not other questions about him which would be raised before assent to marriage was given? Are there not some white men who would be considered unfit marriage partners for anyone's daughter? And are there not others with highly desirable qualities? Indeed, is not the fact that a man is white the least significant fact about him?

Marriage is based upon mutual consent. In our society, people usually marry when they have fallen in love. They

make their own selection of a marriage partner. In becoming engaged and marrying they make promises to each other. That freedom of selection will remain in our society, regardless of whether the barriers of segregation are destroyed. We do not now interfere in our neighbor's choice of a marital partner. We may think that he has chosen wisely or unwisely, but we recognize that it is his choice. Whatever our feeling about someone from our own family marrying a Negro, there can be no justification for our preventing others from marrying Negroes if they so desire.

Much of the argument concerning segregation is based upon a stereotype of the Negro. He is pictured as lazy, carefree, dirty, prone to drink, dishonest, ignorant. This conception is perpetuated in many ways, both subtle and obvious. Not always do those who utilize the stereotype do it with any malicious intent; indeed, they often are not even aware of what they are doing. But many of the jokes which make the rounds are based on it. Casual reference to the Negro as being "by nature happy" contribute to it. The movie portrayal of the Negro, not as a person but as a Negro, strengthens it. Such radio programs as that long-time favorite, "Amos 'n' Andy," add weight to it. The general tendency on the part of white people to place all Negroes in the same category contributes to it.

It should be noted immediately that most of the "Negro" characteristics embodied in the stereotype are not racial but cultural characteristics. Thus, those things about Negroes to which white people object—laziness, ignorance, untruthfulness, and the like—are not matters of race; they are matters of culture. As such, they are found not only among Negroes but also among white people.

It should be noted also that this is not an adequate description of all Negroes. Indeed, some Negroes incur the wrath of their white neighbors not because they are lazy, but because they are successful businessmen! Some Negroes are condemned by their white neighbors not because they are dirty and live in disreputable-looking houses, but because they wear fashionable clothes, drive good cars, and have fine homes! To perpetuate the stereotype is just as logical as to say, "All Indians always march in single file; I know, because I saw an Indian once."

The argument from expediency, always an immoral one, has been an important factor in discussions of segregation. It is immoral because it determines decisions not on the basis of right and wrong, nor on the basis of truth, but on the basis of the effects upon the individual doing the arguing. Thus it is said, "We must maintain the system of segregation because of its benefits to us, and because of what might happen to us if it is destroyed." In the recent past, when Negroes were just beginning to vote in considerable numbers, many white people in sections of the South where the Negroes outnumbered the whites said, "We can't afford to let them vote; they can outvote us." The labor unions tried to exclude them in order to keep down competition for the jobs of the white members. Certain forms of work were labeled as white jobs and others as Negro jobs for the same reason. The rising economic and educational status of the Negro is robbing the South of its servant class and increasing competition for the more desirable jobs. Whether we are conscious of it or not, this argument has figured prominently in racial discussions throughout the South.

This argument from expediency ignores the rights of a multitude of people. It gives primary consideration to the benefits which accrue to the white people from the segregation and subordination of the Negro. It disregards the fundamental democratic principles of freedom and equality. It tramples upon a basic Christian ethical principle, the inherent worth of every individual. It cuts the foundation from under a lawful, orderly society by saying that the basis for decisions and actions is not unchanging principle but individual or group benefits which change with varying conditions.

The people who use this argument are caught in what Gunnar Myrdal has called "an American dilemma." They are convinced that democracy is the only truly satisfactory form of government. They defend it fervently and are willing even to die in its support. But, on the other hand, the actual practice of democracy may sometimes work to their own personal disadvantage. Thus they are torn, as Myrdal said, between the democratic and Christian ideal to which they have committed themselves on the one hand, and the actual pattern of life on the other. For a person so torn there can scarcely be a satisfactory resolution of the dilemma.

A large percentage of the white people of the South engage in a great deal of wishful thinking on the subject of Negro-white relations. They insist that "the Negro is happier" living under the system of segregation. They point out that if a person is dissatisfied with the way of life in the South, he is free to go to a region where the pattern is different. The fact that the majority of Negroes remain in the South is considered evidence that they prefer living there. This argument, of course, ignores all of the other factors which influence a person's decision concerning the place of his residence. It disregards the

normal tendency of people to remain in the area where they were reared, the employment opportunities in the kind of work to which they are accustomed, the ownership of property, and the restraining influence of family connections. But the fact that a person, for whatever reason, chooses to live in the South is not evidence *per se* that he prefers the system of segregation.

Assuming that the Negroes are happier in the segregated South, many white people go on to insist that the Negroes do not really want to see the system tampered with. In the present crisis, such people say: "They prefer to go to their own schools," and "They don't really want to go to the white schools." It cannot be denied that they find some support for their convictions. It is true that not all Negroes, nor even a majority of them, belong to the NAACP, which has led the fight for integration. It is not difficult to find some Negroes who will conscientiously defend the pattern of segregation. They are the "accommodating" Negroes, whose attitude was described in Chapter 2, along with the other possible attitudes. Most white people who defend the segregated pattern seem to be convinced that this is the attitude of practically all Negroes in the South.

Obviously this line of thought represents wishful thinking on the part of many white people. They fervently defend segregation; they are convinced that it is the right way of life; and they have permitted themselves to be convinced that the Negroes agree with them. They are blind to all evidence to the contrary. They ignore the obvious rising tide of support for the NAACP. They do not read the Negro newspapers, which are locally owned and edited, and which have large circulations. They disregard the "Letters to the Editor" in the local newspapers. They get their information from a specific type of Negro

leadership, or from the woman who works in their kitchen and who is skilled in saying what white people want her to say. In short, they have no lines of communication with the major portion of the Negro population which permit them to discover what the Negroes really think. The masses of Negroes are inarticulate on the subject, but it is not true that they are happy with segregation.

From a democratic and a Christian point of view, the question of whether the Southern Negroes are happy when not disturbed by outside agitators is quite irrelevant. It is probably true that the Chinese are happier under the Communist regime than they were before 1949, but that does not prove that Communism is right. It is doubtless true that the tribesmen of Africa are happy in their heathenism and wish to be left free of outside agitation, but we send Christian missionaries because we are convinced of the essential rightness of Christianity and because we are concerned for the needs of these people which they themselves do not recognize. If it were true that the American Negro is happy with less than his full democratic rights and with less than a Christian estimate of his nature and worth, we still would not be justified in defending the system which degrades him.

In the light of this examination of the oft-repeated arguments in support of the system of segregation, several observations need to be made. For one thing, most of us seek to justify ourselves rather than to discover the truth. We have been the heirs of a set of value-judgments which are characteristic of the South. We have accepted them without examination, much as we have accepted Southern cooking or Southern accent. Now that those value-judgments are under fire, we leap to their defense, just as we do when someone criticizes our cooking or our accent. But infinitely more is at stake in our

value-judgments, and we need seriously to examine them in the light of basic democratic and Christian principles to discover the truth.

This means that, in the second place, we need to bring our racial attitudes under the judgment of God. It is never easy to sacrifice a part of our heritage. But we must distinguish between what is basic and what is incidental. For Christians, that which is basic is the will of God. The content of the revelation of the will of God in Jesus Christ which has a bearing on the race issue will be examined in Chapter 5. As Christians, our supreme obligation so far as race is concerned is to see to it that our beliefs and our practices stem from and are consistent with that content. Yet the race problem is the one which we have consistently failed really to bring under the judgment of God. We do not ask, "What is right?" Rather, we take our position and then ask, "How can I justify my position?"

Third, we are often guilty of making vague generalizations which we do not examine and in support of which we do not have adequate information. We make broad statements about the character of all Negroes on the basis of our contacts with the few who work in our kitchen or on our farm. We speak positively about what the Negroes want and justify our observations by using the statement of one school principal. We castigate the NAACP by repeating unfounded charges included in the address of a politician. We may be honest in our convictions that these generalizations are true. Nevertheless, we have not been sufficiently careful to investigate them to determine whether in actuality they can be verified.

Finally, the problems of our society which are rooted in our biracial structure must be attacked co-operatively.

The concept of democracy implies that all citizens participate in the functions of government. It implies also that the security and welfare of all members of the group are the concern of the group as a whole. We must not, therefore, think in terms of giving justice to the Negro, as if it were ours to extend or to withhold. Justice is not a concession to be granted, but the inherent right of all citizens, Negro and white. Neither is it something which must be wrested by a militant Negro leadership from the reluctant white people. Injustice to any segment of our population, however small, affects the nation as a whole, and is the concern of the nation as a whole. It is sometimes said that the NAACP, by insisting on the abolition of segregation, is dividing the South into two camps and is creating racial strife where none existed before. Some politicians even warn ominously that the result of its activity may be the destruction of the public school system in the South. They insist that if that does result, it will be the fault of the Negroes and not of the white people. This is not an accurate picture of the present situation, but what division exists is as much the result of the lack of concern for justice on the part of white people as it is the result of the concern of the Negroes. The Negro people will continue to fight for justice. They will do it alone if necessary. But in a democracy the ideal way is for all the people to attack their problems co-operatively. Only in that way can we truly realize the principles of freedom and of individual worth.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT DOES THE BIBLE SAY?

"You search the scriptures, because you think that in them you have eternal life; and it is they that bear witness to me."

—John 5:39

Biblical teachings are foundational in Christian ethics. The Christian regards the scripture as the record of God's revelation of himself and of his will. The conscientious Christian, therefore, is concerned with understanding the teachings of the scripture which have a bearing upon the difficult race situation of today. With a knowledge of what the Bible says that is pertinent to the problem, he has a starting point from which he may begin to seek a solution.

The Old Testament was written by many different men. It represents the best religious insight of a thousand-year period. Because of these facts, it reflects many different viewpoints. It is therefore difficult to get a clear picture of the teachings of the Old Testament as a whole. Yet there is a unity in this collection of books, and many important ideas recur frequently in its various sections.

Some of those ideas have bearing, direct or indirect, upon the concept of race and upon the relationships of people of different races.

Underlying all other doctrines is the concept of God. Though the various Old Testament writers had diverse views about the nature and character of God, they were in fundamental agreement. They insisted that there is only one God who is Creator, and therefore Sovereign, of the whole world. All the laws, both physical and moral, by which the world operates are his laws. Thus it is God who gives meaning to the terms *right* and *wrong*. These concepts are rooted in his nature. That is right which is in harmony with his will; that is wrong which is out of harmony with his will. Morality does not depend upon what the individual thinks, nor upon the interests of the group in power, nor even upon the nature of man. It depends ultimately upon God alone. The final word of authority is "Thus says the Lord." Old Testament morality was a legalistic morality, but the laws were sanctioned by the conviction that they came from God himself. Thus any Old Testament principle which has bearing upon race relations had for the Hebrew people the sanction of the sovereign Creator of the world.

A second Old Testament concept important to the matter of race is the doctrine of man. One of the loftiest concepts of man found anywhere is to be found in the Old Testament, and specifically in the early chapters of Genesis. There it is said that God created man "in his own image," and that he "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." Furthermore, the creation of man is recorded as the crowning event in the entire creative process, the height of God's creation. To him was given dominion over all the lower animals. For our purposes, the significance of this ac-

count lies in what it implies about the nature of all men, regardless of race. All men are created in the image of God; all men are persons into whom God has breathed the breath of life; all men represent the crown of God's creative activity.

The third chapter of Genesis teaches in a profound way at least two great truths about human nature which are significant for race relations. The first of these is that we are free and responsible creatures. Like Adam and Eve, we have at least some understanding of the will of God, and like them we are confronted with a decision to make in which we are free to determine our own course of action. The second is that we are sinful. Like Adam and Eve, we make the wrong decision. Insofar as race relations are concerned, most of us find ourselves guilty of prejudice or of self-righteousness or of divisiveness.

Another element in the Hebrew concept of man which runs through the Old Testament and includes a truth that we need to recover is the idea of group solidarity. The individual is seen as so much a part of the group of which he is a member that the entire group is involved in his sin and his righteousness. The converse is true also, so that the individual inevitably is identified with group attitudes and actions. Thus the sin of Achan brought about the defeat of the Hebrew warriors in their campaign against Ai (Joshua, Chapter 7), and his entire family was destroyed as punishment for his sin. If we apply this principle to the problem of human relations in the South today, we conclude that we are all involved in the evils of the system which discriminates against the Negro. Indeed, as members of a group there rests upon our shoulders evils of which we would not be guilty as individuals. We are caught in an evil system from which we cannot extricate ourselves.

Closely related to the concept of the nature of man is the concept of the unity of the human race. It is the logical conclusion of the doctrine of God and the doctrine of man, and is clearly set forth in the early chapters of Genesis. The creation accounts (Genesis, Chapters 1—2) teach that we have a common origin in Adam. The story of the flood (Genesis, Chapters 6—9) teaches that we have a common ancestor in Noah, and indicates that after the flood the whole earth was peopled by the sons of Noah (Genesis, Chapter 10). The account of the Tower of Babel opens with the statement, "Now the whole earth had one language and few words." (Genesis 11:1.) Thus the writer was convinced that, in spite of the diversity of language when he wrote, there was a time when the unity of the human race was symbolized by one language. If we try to debate whether these passages are scientifically accurate, we miss the point of the biblical writers. Clearly they set forth the truth that the human race is one.

Another basic element in Old Testament thought is the ideal of justice. A study of the ethical and civil legislation in the Old Testament makes clear that justice is fundamental in all the moral obligations of man. The word *justice* means essentially "rendering to every man his due." It recognizes the property rights of man and insists that under no circumstances may those rights be invaded. It holds that every man is a person and that there is that which is essentially *his*, which inherently belongs to him. So closely connected is a person with his property rights that it might even be said that a man's possessions become a part of his personality. Man is not pure spirit; he is also physical. His physical life is in part dependent upon the things which he possesses. The

concept of justice recognizes this fact and insists that his rights of possession shall not be violated.

There are other aspects of man with which the concept of justice is concerned. Man is by nature free, and justice demands that no person be robbed of his freedom. Man is by nature social, and justice demands that his reputation not be maligned. Man is by nature spiritual, and justice demands that he be treated with dignity and respect.

The biblical ideal of justice does not stand on its own feet; it is based upon the biblical doctrine of man. These things which by nature belong to man do not belong to the lower animals. They belong to man uniquely, and they belong to him because he is a living soul. The concepts of "thine" and "mine," basic in the idea of justice, have significance only in relationship to human beings. That which is yours or mine is sacred to you or to me because we are persons.

A large portion of the Old Testament legal system is concerned with the protection of that which is due persons. The entire second table of the decalogue safeguards the inherent rights of persons. The violation of any one of those commandments is an act of injustice to a person, an ignoring of his rights. Furthermore, the highly detailed laws found in various portions of the Pentateuch are in reality elaborations and explanations of those basic laws of justice found in the decalogue. Thus, according to the Hebrew system of morality, to be just is to obey the law.

This ideal of justice was a primary element in the message of the great Hebrew prophets. Perhaps the most characteristic feature of their work was a condemnation of those who were quite scrupulous in obeying the ceremonial law, but who rode roughshod over the rights of

others. The prophets did not condemn the law; rather, they exalted it, for they saw in the moral law the true pattern for governing man's conduct. But they were genuinely troubled because many of those who were quite proper in their ritual of worship had no regard for the concept of "thine." They were particularly vehement in their condemnation of those who found means of obeying the letter of the law while violating the inherent rights of others which the law was designed to protect. A good summary of the moral demands of many of the prophets is found in the famous words of Amos,

"But let justice roll down like waters,
and righteousness like an ever-flowing stream."

—5:24

Though in Christian ethical thought love rather than justice is basic, the concept of justice is a part of the Christian ethic. Indeed, love cannot be understood without a prior knowledge of justice. Insofar as race relations are concerned, white Christians must consider seriously the demands of justice. They must ask themselves frankly and fearlessly whether their dealings with the Negro, both individually and within the social order, meet the elemental demands of justice. Have we recognized and guarded that which is inherently his by virtue of his humanity? Has he been given the full fruit of his labor? Has his freedom been abridged by the pattern of segregation? Have we maligned his reputation by our perpetuation of the stereotype? Have we treated him with dignity and respect? Have we robbed him of justice in the courts, in the hospitals, at the voting places, in housing, in public transportation, in education? Our immediate impulse is to answer these questions with a resounding "No!" But sober reflection on the ideal of

justice and on our own practices, individual and social, may cause us to revise our answer.

One more basic Old Testament idea is significant for our consideration of biblical teachings on race relations. That is the note of universalism which runs through this collection of religious literature. The writers of the Old Testament were dominated by the idea that the Hebrews were God's chosen people. He selected them from among all the nations of the earth and made himself known to them. From the days of Abraham he led them and controlled their destiny. He took them into the promised land and established them there as a great nation. He even brought about their destruction as a nation, but he was with them in captivity and re-established them in Judah after their period of purification. But, according to the biblical writers, God's purpose was never to be understood as a choosing and a blessing of the Hebrew people for their own sake. He had chosen them in order that he might use them. They were to be the instrument by which he was to make himself known to all the world. To Abraham he had said, "I will bless you, and make your name great, so that you will be a blessing." (Genesis 12:2.) Throughout their history the Hebrew people were reminded that they were the instrument of God. Oftentimes they forgot it and retreated into a narrow nationalism, but the conviction never disappeared completely.

More fully than the historians, the prophets grasped the concept of universalism. They understood the fact that there was only one God logically demanded that all peoples be subject to him and worship him. Thus Isaiah made frequent reference to the time when world peace would result from the universal worship of Jehovah (*cf.* 11:6-9). Micah spoke of the day when many nations shall come, and say:

"Come, let us go up to the mountain of the LORD,
to the house of the God of Jacob;
that he may teach us his ways
and we may walk in his paths."—4:2

In Second Isaiah the note recurs constantly. One of the clearest expressions of it is the exhortation,

"Turn to me and be saved,
all the ends of the earth!
For I am God, and there is no other."—45:22

Another is the statement from a famous messianic passage,

"I will give you as a light to the nations,
that my salvation may reach to the end of the
earth." (49:6; *cf.* also Micah 5:2-9 and
Zechariah 2:10-11.)

The bearing of the concept of universalism upon the problem of race relations is clear. It is generally assumed that the fact that a group of people is "chosen" separates that group from the rest. That was true of the Hebrew people in the sense that they had a knowledge of God which was unique. God's revelation of himself to the Hebrew people was not for the purpose of cutting them off from the rest of the world, however, but for the purpose of using them to make himself known to the rest of the world. The Hebrew people violated the intent of God when they cut themselves off from contact with

other peoples. Thus the most significant division between peoples is not race, but religion! And those who worship the true God are charged with the responsibility of making him known to all the world and thereby destroying that barrier which separates people.

One of the tragedies of our situation is that we permit race to constitute an insurmountable barrier between peoples whose knowledge of God and devotion to him are the same. Two people may believe alike and worship alike, but they may not worship together. Disparity of race is considered even more significant than disparity of religion, in spite of the fact that religion is the basic factor in life. Most white people would not object if a Hindu visited their church. Rather, they would be likely to welcome him as often as he chose to come. But they would object vigorously if a Negro Christian sought to worship in their church. The fact that a person is a Negro thus overrides all other considerations and creates a barrier which the Christian concept of brotherhood is not allowed to destroy. The implications of the biblical teachings are clear, but they are ignored in the Christian churches today.

Even more forcefully than the Old Testament, the New Testament condemns our race prejudices. In Christian ethical thought the teachings and example of Jesus are final and complete. They are the standard by which the Christian determines what conduct is right and what is wrong. By them he measures himself, and by them he seeks to improve his own conduct and attitudes and the life of his community as well. Beyond Christ there is no appeal. His teachings were delivered centuries ago in a culture which was radically different from ours, but they were not limited to that culture. The principles which

he taught and exemplified are applicable to any conditions of life.

There was a race problem in the days of Jesus. For the Jew, the world was divided into Jew and Gentile, and contact with Gentiles was to be avoided as far as possible. It was believed that contact with a Gentile rendered a Jew ceremonially unclean because the Gentile was regarded as inferior. For the Samaritans, whose ancestry was a mixture of Jewish and Gentile peoples, the Jews had an especially deep-seated animosity. This hostility was all the more intense because the Samaritan religion was likewise a mixture of Jewish and pagan elements. Since the time of the return of the Jews from captivity in the late sixth and the fifth centuries B.C. the hatred had been growing.

It is often pointed out that Jesus said nothing about race relations in spite of the fact that there was a race problem in his day. That silence is taken as an indication that the problem of race relations is not basically a religious one. If it had been fundamentally a matter of religion, it is argued, certainly Jesus would have given some attention to it. His silence on the subject may be taken as evidence that he did not challenge the racial beliefs and practices of his day. The conclusion of this line of reasoning is that while our religion demands that we be just in all our dealings, it does not demand the removal of the barriers of segregation.

It is true that Jesus did not deal with the problem of race relations as such. However, with one possible exception, he never legislated on any specific problem. Rather, he taught in terms of basic principles, and illustrations of those principles, leaving to his disciples the task of applying them to the specific situations of life. When we examine our problem of race relations in the light of those

principles, we see that Jesus had many things to say which give direction to those seeking to consider race relations in the light of their Christian faith rather than in the light of the culture of which they are a part.

The basic ethical principle in the teaching of Jesus was that of love. That was his central imperative, his command which he issued over and over again. When he was asked, "Which commandment is the first of all?" he answered with the famous "twin commandments": "'Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God, the Lord is one; and you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.' The second is this, 'You shall love your neighbor as yourself. There is no other commandment greater than these.'" (Mark 12:29-31.) In one form or another, these commandments to love were issued by Jesus on many different occasions. He commanded his disciples, for example, to love both their friends (John 15:12-13) and their enemies (Matthew 5:43-44). These two mandates do not give his modern disciples much pause for thought, for they feel that they have no difficulty loving their friends, and that they actually have no enemies! A real understanding of the meaning of the word *love* and the word *enemy* might cause us to revise our estimate of the ease of obeying these commands.

The word *love*, as it is used in the New Testament, is not to be confused with the many different types of love with which we are familiar today. It is not to be identified either with romantic love, or with paternal love, or with fraternal love, or with filial love, or with any of the other possible types. All of these are fundamentally emotional relationships, and are in large measure dependent upon reciprocation. Loves of these sorts are likely to die if they do not find a response in the object

of affection. But Christian love is an unselfish, deep-seated devotion to the welfare of another person. It may have emotion in it, but it is not primarily emotional. Rather, it has a high degree of the intellectual and volitional. It does not depend upon the response of the person loved. It is to be desired that the other person respond with love, but Christian love continues even when the response is enmity. It can continue because its primary concern is not with the person who loves, but with the person who is loved. Thus it does not raise the question, "What do I get out of it?" It does not ask, "Can I afford to act in this way?" Rather, it asks only, "What do the real needs of this person demand that I do? How can my concern for him express itself?"

Only with this kind of love can we obey the command of Jesus to love our enemies. Our enemy is not a friend in disguise. He is not simply a person who doesn't like us because he doesn't really know us. He is a person who knows us but doesn't like us! He is a person who seeks to do us wrong, regardless of our attitude toward him. We cannot, in harmony with the teaching of Jesus, simply seek to avoid contact with him. He is not to be excluded from the circle of our regard and concern. He is to be treated in a loving fashion.

Jesus also commanded love for neighbor. White people of the South do not regard the Negro as their enemy, but neither do they really regard him as their neighbor. They recognize their Christian obligation to love their neighbor, and therefore to be actively concerned about his welfare. But by excluding the Negro from their definition of *neighbor* they excuse themselves from obligation to him. In this way they are quite like the lawyer who responded to Jesus' statement of the twin commandments by asking, "And who is my neighbor?"

The Jews traditionally recognized their obligation to love their neighbor. Jesus was merely quoting the Old Testament law when he said, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself" (cf. Lev. 19:18). But the Jews customarily restricted the term *neighbor* to other Jews. In the parable of the good Samaritan Jesus laid the foundation for defining *neighbor*, not in terms either of proximity or of race, but in terms of those with whom we have contact, direct or indirect. Our neighbor, therefore, is anyone over whom our actions have some influence. By making the hero of the story a Samaritan Jesus deliberately undercut the Jewish definition.

Today we think of our neighbor as being someone living nearby who is like us. Thus we exclude the Negro in the block behind us, or even the white person of a lower social standing who is next door to us. We agree to love our neighbor, but we restrict our obligations by making *neighbor* an exclusive term. A radical change would be wrought in our own attitudes and relationships if we accepted frankly the implications of the parable of the good Samaritan and the radical demands of the concept of Christian love.

We may salve our consciences by saying, "I don't hate anyone." But hatred is not the only opposite of love; contempt is its opposite too. When Jesus was giving his interpretation of the commandment, "You shall not kill," he taught that it is not the overt act which is wrong, but the motive from which the act springs. He said, "But I say to you that every one who is angry with his brother shall be liable to judgment; whoever insults his brother shall be liable to the council, and whoever says, 'You fool!' shall be liable to the hell of fire." (Matthew 5:22.) "You fool" is a term of contempt, and by Jesus was adjudged the moral equivalent of murder. A few white

people do hate the Negroes; many more are contemptuous of them. Both attitudes are violations of Jesus' commandment, "You shall love your neighbor as yourself."

Love which does not express itself is not genuine love. We cannot fulfill our obligation to our neighbors by merely leaving them alone. It is a violation of our obligation to seek to avoid contact. If we have a genuine love for our Negro neighbors, can we be content to leave them alone? Can we contentedly accept without question the pattern of life to which we have been accustomed? Must we not explore the possible avenues of contact so that the impulses of Christian concern may flow freely in both directions?

On the basis of the fundamental principle of love, Jesus taught some other ethical principles which are pertinent to the problem of race relations. One of the most prominent of these is the doctrine that every individual is of infinite worth in the sight of God. "Are not two sparrows sold for a penny?" he asked. "And not one of them will fall to the ground without your Father's will. But even the hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear not, therefore; you are of more value than many sparrows." (Matthew 10:29-31.) The parables of the lost coin, the lost sheep, and the lost son (Luke 15) all teach the worth of the individual. His act of healing on the Sabbath day and his answer to those who criticized him for it indicate that the value of the human being is greater even than the value of that most sacred of Jewish institutions, the Sabbath (*cf.* Matthew 12:9-14).

Jesus did not spell out the bearings of this principle upon race relations, but the implications are obvious. He accepted the Old Testament teaching that man was created in the image of God. Since every person, regardless of race or nationality, is created in the image of God,

every person is an object of the love of God and is of infinite worth in his sight. To treat any person, or any group of persons, as inferior is to disregard this teaching of Jesus.

Our practice of thinking of the Negro in group terms rather than in individual terms is clearly out of harmony with this concept of the worth of the individual. The perpetuation of the stereotype, the thinking of the Negro first as a Negro and only secondarily, if at all, as a person, is therefore un-Christian. The easy generalizations which we make violate the personality and disregard the divine image which are the characteristics of all human beings. Our insistence that segregation be as complete as possible is based on the fear of what contacts might do to the purity of the white race, and disregards what the restrictions do to the personality of those who are segregated.

We cannot avoid our responsibility by saying, "I recognize that the Negro is of equal worth in the sight of God, but that does not mean that I have to associate with him." To take such an attitude is to seek to make a complete separation between religion and ethics, between faith and works. That separation cannot be made. In discussing another problem of human relations Jesus urged his disciples to "Love your enemies" so that "you may be the sons of your Father who is in heaven," who loved people whether or not they returned his love. (Matthew 5:45.) Is it not logical to conclude that if all individuals are of equal worth in the sight of God, they should likewise be of equal worth in our sight?

Jesus also taught that within the kingdom of God there are no racial barriers. Impressed by the faith of a Roman centurion, Jesus once remarked to his disciples that he had not found such great faith even among the Jews, and

stated, " 'I tell you, many will come from east and west and sit at table with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.' " (Matthew 8:11; cf. Luke 13:28-30.) The forerunner of Jesus had warned the Jews, "And do not presume to say to yourselves, 'We have Abraham as our father'; for I tell you, God is able from these stones to raise up children to Abraham." (Matthew 3:9.) The Jews believed that their relationship to God as his chosen people was secure because they were the descendants of Abraham. Jesus transformed the concept of the chosen people from a biological one into a spiritual one. He made faith the basis for determining who would be associated with Abraham and the other patriarchs in the kingdom. Thus the kingdom is open to all who will meet the spiritual conditions, and the factor of race plays no part at all. And it must be remembered that Jesus did not speak of the kingdom as being only in the next world. It has its other-worldly aspect, but he taught that it is also a present reality, and that his disciples *are* citizens of the kingdom.

The same concept is taught in the parable of the great feast. (Luke 14:16-24.) It is clear from this parable that that group of people who had been the recipients of divine favor could disqualify themselves by rejecting God's invitation, and that others, despised by the "chosen people," would be entertained at the heavenly feast. Thus one's relationship to God and to the kingdom is conditioned upon nothing else than his response to the invitation of God.

Jesus' words as he cleansed the temple indicate that he valued the concept of universalism which was taught by the prophets. It has been common to understand his action in cleansing the temple as a reaction against the defiling of the temple by the traders and money-changers.

If so, this is the only instance recorded in the New Testament where he showed any concern about ceremonial defilement. His words indicate another concern: " 'Is it not written, "My house shall be called a house of prayer for all the nations"? But you have made it a den of robbers.' " (Mark 11:17.) It is highly probable that the scene of the trading and the money-changing was the "Court of the Gentiles," an outer court of the temple set apart for the use of Gentiles who wished to worship Jehovah. Because of the rigid Jewish exclusiveness it was rarely used for that purpose and had been usurped for commercial enterprises. Jesus' actions and his words, therefore, were evidence of his concern for the Gentiles.

It was not only as he confronted Jewish narrowness that Jesus showed concern for Gentiles. Often as he talked intimately with his own disciples he made it clear that racial barriers had no meaning in the kingdom. " 'And I have other sheep,' " he said to his disciples, " 'that are not of this fold; I must bring them also, and they will heed my voice. So there shall be one flock, one shepherd.' " (John 10:16.) Many such passages make abundantly clear that Jesus insisted that his kingdom was universal, open to all who would meet the conditions, regardless of race.

The implications of this concept of the kingdom for Christians and for the church are clear. Christians differ among themselves concerning the relationship between the church and the kingdom, but they agree that it is a close and significant one. It is impossible, therefore, on a Christian basis, to recognize the concept of universality in the kingdom and at the same time to justify segregation within the church.

By his actions as well as by his teachings, Jesus demonstrated that the racial prejudices of the Jews were foreign

to his religion. The scripture indicates that on several occasions he went through Samaria while traveling between Galilee and Judea. It was Jewish custom, however, to avoid passing through Samaria by crossing the Jordan River, going through Perea, and then recrossing the Jordan. Though the route was much longer, the devout Jew in that way avoided contact with the hated Samaritans. Jesus, however, traveled freely through Samaria.

On one of those trips through Samaria, Jesus even entered into a conversation with a Samaritan woman. (John, chapter 4.) When the woman taunted him for condescending to ask a Samaritan for a drink of water, he ignored the implications of her statement and talked with her as he did with other people. He had been left alone at the well by his disciples, whom he had sent into the nearby village to buy food. His disciples, then, had begun to understand something of his attitude, for, according to contemporary rabbinic teaching, "to eat the bread of a Samaritan is as eating the flesh of swine." One result of his conversation with the woman was a two-day sojourn in the village, spent in teaching the Samaritans.

Though most of his life was spent in Jewish territory, Jesus came into occasional contact with Gentiles, particularly with the Roman soldiers. His healing of the centurion's servant (Matthew 8:5-13) indicates that his concern was not limited to Jews. According to Luke, that particular centurion was recommended to Jesus by the elders of the Jews in Capernaum as one who "loves our nation." That suggests that not all Jews shared in the bitter feelings toward Gentiles in general and toward Romans in particular. Or it may suggest that, like many modern white people in their attitude toward Negroes, those elders were antagonistic to Gentiles as a "race," but took a few individuals into the circle of their concern.

At any rate, here is evidence that Jesus ministered to a Gentile in the same way that he did to a Jew.

On several occasions, particularly during the latter part of his ministry, Jesus withdrew from Galilee into Gentile territory. The region east of the Sea of Galilee had a large Gentile population; indeed, a number of the most prominent cities were Graeco-Roman cities. Yet Jesus was there fairly often, and the Gospels describe at least five miracles which he performed in that area. Near the end of his ministry he withdrew from Galilee into "the parts of Tyre and Sidon," and from there into the region of the Decapolis. His excursions into those Gentile areas were due at least in part to the hostility of Herod Antipas. But there he continued the kind of healing ministry which he had conducted in Galilee.

It seems obvious, then, that one can scarcely read the Gospels intelligently without concluding that Jesus disapproved of the national and racial prejudices of his own people. If his teachings and his example were taken seriously by modern disciples, some radical changes in their way of life would take place.

That the teachings and example of Jesus were taken seriously by the first-century disciples is made clear in the Acts of the Apostles. In that book are two striking passages which have a direct bearing upon the subject of race as it is related to the Christian faith. One of the most significant passages in the Bible, so far as this matter is concerned, is the description of the experience of Peter recorded in the tenth chapter of Acts. To understand that experience, we must remember that the earliest Christians had come to Christ from the Jewish background and that many of them tried to combine their Jewish faith and their Christian experience. They did not discard their

Judaism, but felt rather that it was the means by which they had come to Christ. They felt obligated, therefore, to obey the Jewish laws regarding sabbath observance, clean and unclean foods, personal purity, and the like. Furthermore, it does not seem to have occurred to them that Christ had come for all the world; he was, they believed, the Jewish Messiah. Some of the disciples, notably Philip, had proclaimed the good news in Samaria, but many of the Christians were not enthusiastic about that action.

Peter seems to have shared this Jewish concept of the faith. He did preach the gospel throughout Palestine, but evidently he confined his ministry to Jews. It took a vision, repeated three times, to prepare him to go to the Gentiles. The climax of the vision was God's response to Peter's objection to eating unclean food: "'What God has cleansed, you must not call common.'" (Acts 10:15.) When the representative of the Roman centurion Cornelius appeared at the door seeking Peter, Peter understood that his vision had been designed to prepare him for Cornelius' request. When he arrived in Caesarea, he said to the group gathered in the house of Cornelius to hear him, "'You yourselves know how unlawful it is for a Jew to associate with or to visit any one of another nation; but God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean.'" (Acts 10:28.) He summed up his insight with the profound statement, "'Truly I perceive that God shows no partiality, but in every nation any one who fears him and does what is right is acceptable to him.'" (Acts 10:34.)

The other passage in the Book of Acts which has a significant bearing upon the subject of race is the account of Paul's speech at the Areopagus. (Acts 17:22-31.) Using as his starting point the inscription, "To an un-

known god," which he found on an altar in Athens, he set out to declare to the Athenians that "unknown god." In speaking of God's creative activity he said, "'And he made from one every nation of men to live on all the face of the earth, having determined allotted periods and the boundaries of their habitation, that they should seek God, in the hope that they might feel after him and find him.' " (Acts 17:26-27.) Here is a Christian statement of the conviction, found in the early chapters of Genesis, that in spite of such superficial differences as language and nationality, all the nations were made "from one." This basic unity of the human race is the foundation for making one appeal to all people, regardless of race. God's demands of us are the same, and our needs are the same. There is therefore no essential difference between peoples.

One further New Testament principle of significance in our current race problem in the South is found in the letters of the Apostle Paul. Paul insisted on many occasions that all Christians are "one in Christ." That is to say, the fact of our common relationship to Christ as Savior and Lord overrides all other differences, real or imaginary, between peoples. There are differences of language, culture, skin pigmentation, and the like. But in the light of the fact that two people are Christian, such differences do not matter.

In 1 Corinthians we find the statement, "For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For by one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and all were made to drink of one Spirit." (12:12-13.) This statement was aimed directly at the problem of race. Another such point-blank statement is found in the Epistle to the Galatians: "There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither

slave nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus." (3:28.) In his letter to the Ephesians Paul dealt with the subject at some length (2:11-22), stating that the terms *circumcision* and *uncircumcision* no longer had any real significance. Jew and Gentile have been made one in Christ, who "has broken down the dividing wall of hostility." (2:14.)

Such quotations as these could be multiplied many times from the letters of Paul. He was concerned to drive home the point that terms of division, so common in the non-Christian world, lose their significance within the Christian church. There can be little doubt that had Paul written his epistles in our day he would have said, "There is neither Negro nor white . . . for you are all one in Christ Jesus."

CHAPTER 6

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Our commonwealth is in heaven.

—Philippians 3:20

The Supreme Court ruling which declared segregation in the public schools to be unconstitutional was announced on May 17, 1954. The first major religious group to meet in convention following that date was the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, meeting in Montreat, North Carolina, May 27—June 1. On May 30 that group adopted the following statement:

1. Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problem involved. It also urges all of our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudice will not help but hinder the accomplishment of this aim.¹

¹*Minutes of the Ninety-Fourth General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, Part I, p. 197.*

The next major religious group to take action was the Southern Baptist Convention, which met in St. Louis, Missouri, June 2-5, 1954. On Friday evening, June 4, that group approved the recommendations of its Christian Life Commission concerning the Supreme Court decision. The heart of those recommendations was the first item:

1. That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principle of equal justice and love for all men.²

There was only slight opposition to the adoption of the recommendation.

One by one, the other major denominations, as they met in general conference, passed resolutions approving the decision. The General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches urged the local churches to "move toward ways in which they and all churches can open their membership to all persons on a simple basis of faith and character." Even before the decision, Roman Catholic Bishop Waters, of North Carolina, over some local opposition, abolished segregation in his diocese. The Northern Presbyterians adopted a resolution stating that "We receive with humility and thanksgiving" the Supreme Court ruling. The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church issued a statement of approval, though some of the Southern Bishops later dissented. Several Methodist conferences in the Deep South officially commended the decision.

In some quarters there has been much criticism of these church pronouncements. Those people responsible

²*Annual of the Southern Baptist Convention*, 1954, p. 56.

for their adoption, and in general those who have pointed out that the Supreme Court decision was consistent with the principles of democracy and of the Christian religion, have been called "Supreme Court Christians." The question has been raised, "If segregation is un-Christian, why have those people been so tardy in recognizing it as such?" This taunt, however, is quite unjustified. F. Ernest Johnson's study of church pronouncements concerning race relations,³ based on denominational records from 1908 to 1947, reveals that all of the major denominations, including those which are essentially Southern groups, had adopted resolutions before 1954 challenging the racial practices of the South. Not all groups attacked segregation specifically, but most of them did attack the fruits of segregation and condemn them as un-Christian. In 1952, for example, the General Conference of the Methodist Church adopted a resolution which stated that "there is no place in the Methodist Church for racial discrimination or racial segregation," and pledged the church to the task of eliminating it. In 1949 the International Convention of the Disciples of Christ called upon the local congregations to move toward "the inclusion of all races in their membership." The United Lutherans stated in 1947 that "Christian brotherhood is impeded by practices enforcing segregation." In that same year the Southern Baptist Convention, while not attacking segregation as such, adopted a platform on race relations which was a direct challenge to the Southern pattern. It charged the Social Service Commission (now the Christian Life Commission) with the responsibility of fostering "a long range program of education . . . looking toward racial understanding and Christian attitudes in the solution of race problems."

³Cited in Frank Loescher, *The Protestant Church and the Negro* (New York: Association Press, 1948), pp. 121-143.

Furthermore, many ministers and laymen have often raised their voices in local situations. Many have defied the mores and demonstrated a genuine spirit of Christian brotherhood. They have not broken the system, but they have testified against it.

This is not to suggest that the majority of Southern white Christians have hailed the Supreme Court decision as right. There have been objections when church resolutions were adopted. In some local groups—Baptist associations, Methodist conferences, Presbyterian synods, and the like—resolutions opposing the decision have been adopted. The unity of The Methodist Church was somewhat disrupted over this issue. Few local churches of any denomination have taken steps to implement the noble resolutions adopted on the higher denominational level. As denominations, we have given our assent to the ideal; as local churches, we have not yet modified our practices.

The truth often hurts. It is true, as has been pointed out frequently, that "the most segregated hour in America is eleven o'clock Sunday morning." The churches insist that they base their belief and their practices on the Bible; it is their source of authority as to what is the will of God. But on the matter of race their practice is not consistent with the teaching of the scripture. How can we explain this great chasm between faith and practice within the church itself?

It should be recognized at the outset that the majority of white Christians in the South do not believe that enforced segregation is a violation of the ideal. When they argue that segregation is in harmony with the will of God, they are convinced of the truth of their argument. They are not hypocritical; neither are they malicious. But they are blind to the implications of those scriptural teachings discussed in Chapter 5.

Closely related to this blindness is the traditional view that this is not essentially a matter of religion. There is a sentiment in nearly all the churches that the church must "stick to the gospel" in its educational and preaching ministry. "The gospel" is taken to be the good news that Christ came into the world for the salvation of man. The preaching of the gospel, then, means urging men to accept this gift of God which Christ offers. Only rarely is salvation interpreted in exclusively other-worldly terms. It is almost always recognized that it has to do with this life as well as the next. But the morality which is commonly associated with the gospel is of a very limited kind, and is usually only a little more demanding than the mores. Certain areas of concern, such as business practices, politics, and race relations, are not considered intrinsic to the gospel.

Another factor which helps account for the lethargy of the church is the fact that the church is a social institution. It is much more than this, and can never be understood in institutional terms alone. But this aspect of its nature must not be neglected. An institution, defined in sociological terms, is an established form or condition of procedure characteristic of group activity. By definition, institutions are conservative. They seek to maintain the accustomed pattern of life, the accustomed values. They change, but they change slowly. The church, then, is really pulled in two directions. As the body of Christ it is pulled in the direction of the ideal; as an institution, it is held back by its allegiance to the *status quo*.

The church is made up of individuals. Ideally the dominant factor in the life of those individuals is their relationship to Christ. But those individuals who make up the church live in families and are citizens of their communities. They are subject to the pressure of the mores.

They are members of political parties, civic clubs, and special interest groups. They are businessmen, professional people, or employees. They are graduates of this school or that and belong to this social class or that. All of these factors help to make them what they are: In reality a man's convictions are not determined solely by his Christian faith. They are influenced also by all of those other loyalties which have a claim upon him. "I am a part of all that I have met" is profound insight. But the individual is one person, and he is not always able to discern what makes him think or act as he does. Herein lies a tragedy for the Christian. He is not just a Christian; he is a Christian and a Democrat, a Christian and a Southerner, a Christian and a white man, a Christian and a Mason, and so on. When he acts, he may act more as a Southerner than as a Christian, and at the same time attribute his action to his Christian faith. These other loyalties are not necessarily evil, but for the Christian they must be subordinated to Christ and subjected to constant examination. Only so can we make our lives more Christian.

One final reason for the laxity of the church can be pointed out here in one word: expediency. There are those in the church who feel that segregation is un-Christian, but that the church must go very slowly in attacking it. They feel that there are some matters of greater importance to which the church must give itself. Missions, for example, or the erection of a church building, is a matter of immediate urgency. Granted that the church should be concerned about the race problem, it must do nothing which will jeopardize those other concerns. This is not blatant commercialism; it is rather a recognition that often one value must be sacrificed to another which is greater. Thus, if agitation on the race issue causes a

decline in the support of the church, financial and otherwise, missions and church building will suffer. Furthermore, a sense of unity and fellowship in the church is of greatest importance. That sense of unity and fellowship might be broken if the church moves too rapidly in race relations.

Concerning this final reason for laxity on the part of the church, a question should be asked. Is unity of greater value to the church than allegiance to the right? What does it do to the church to preserve its unity at the expense of its integrity? What does it do to the soul to continue practicing what is acknowledged to be wrong? In other words, recognizing that we do have to make a choice between values and that we do have to sacrifice one to another, have we made the right choice when we remain silent on moral issues?

What should the church do in the present situation? What immediate steps should it take? If these questions are given answers which have any value at all, the answers must consider not only the ideal but also the realities of the present situation. The ideal, in Christian terms, is complete absence of discrimination based on race. Anything less than that is less than Christian. Yet no church or denomination is today in a position to cast the first stone, for in varying degrees all are involved in the sin of our culture. No church or denomination has reached the stage where it can even hope for immediate conformity to the ideal within its own structure. Even within the church there are those factors which hold us back from the ideal. When we talk of next steps and of remedies for the situation, we must talk in terms of what is possible within the present limitations.

At the outset it should be said that the church must keep the ideal in mind, and must realize wherein the life

of the community falls short. It must seek to understand the situation as fully as possible so as to be able to evaluate it in terms of right and wrong. If the church cannot change conditions, it must not attempt to justify them by claiming divine sanction for them. Thus, while the church may not be able to prevent discrimination against Negroes in the stores of the city, for example, it ought to make it clear that such discrimination is un-Christian. It was often the fate of the Old Testament prophets that their warnings went unheeded, but they were under divine obligation to be critical of the life of their nation nevertheless. Like those prophets, the church of today ought to be the conscience of the community.

Admittedly the church is handicapped in seeking to be the conscience of the community because of her own divided nature. As has been pointed out frequently by the opponents of integration in the public schools, the church is scarcely in a position to say that integration should take place. It is scarcely in a position to insist on the principles of brotherhood and of equal worth before God. It has not taken seriously the statement of Paul that Christ "has broken down the dividing wall of hostility." (Ephesians 2:14.) Nor has the church reached the point where it is ready to break down the dividing wall of race in its own life. Since it is a voluntary association, it is immune to legal action on this score, and therefore may be the last stronghold of segregation!

Both the Negro and the white churches are guilty of the sin of segregation. The Negro churches, however, are less guilty than the white ones. It was the white people who created the situation that led the Negroes to establish their own segregated institutions. In the postwar years of the nineteenth century the Negroes voluntarily withdrew from the whites and organized their own churches

because they had been relegated to second-class membership in the existing institutions. They had been required to sit in segregated seats and had not had the rights of voting and holding office. They preferred full membership in segregated churches to inequality in integrated ones. Furthermore, in the modern churches, visitation is on a one-way street. White visitors are usually welcomed in Negro churches, and sometimes Negroes invite visiting white ministers to preach for them. Those courtesies, however, are rarely reciprocated.

The church must never be content so long as it falls short of the ideal of Christian community. In spite of the factors which bind the church to the *status quo*, she must respond to "the upward call of God in Christ Jesus." What the local churches can do within the limitations will vary. Some churches have already advanced farther toward the ideal than have others. Some have not yet reached the point where they are willing to welcome visiting Negro ministers into their pulpits. Others have not only welcomed visiting Negro ministers into their pulpits, but have also welcomed visiting Negro laymen into their congregations. A few others have even come to accept Negroes into the membership of the churches. But at whatever stage of development a particular church finds itself, it should be conscious that it has not yet reached the ideal and should move constantly toward it.

If the church is to give Christian direction to the changes which are taking place in race relations, it must do a much more effective job of education. In spite of all its limitations, the church does have a wonderful teaching opportunity in its church school and its youth organizations. In the past, we have usually shied away from such touchy subjects as race relations. We have not even produced a literature which would furnish the needed guidance in a discussion of the subject from a Christian

point of view. In our day, when this is probably our most crucial moral issue, we must equip our people—children and adults alike—to see the issue within the Christian perspective. Otherwise we will produce a generation of Christians for whom the faith is irrelevant to our daily life. We must face the issue squarely in Christian terms. The people of the church must be led to raise religious questions rather than questions of mere expediency. They will be discussing the subject; they must be led to discuss it in terms of the meaning of the gospel.

Churches are made up of individuals, so that in the last resort it is individuals who are responsible for the life of the church. Furthermore, individuals are able to go even beyond the church in terms of Christian conduct. The character of the church depends in large measure upon the character of a large number of people. But some persons within the group may be more advanced than the group as a whole. In the final analysis, we cannot make the church do what we believe to be right; we cannot force our convictions upon the group. But we are nevertheless under obligation to live by our convictions. Christian obligation is fundamentally individual obligation. The individual has an obligation *for* the group, but his chief obligation is not *to* the group; it is *to God*.

In considering the present situation, the first thing which the Christian should do is to determine that he will do what is morally right and Christian. The Christian brings himself under the judgment of God and under the direction of God. He comes seeking to know what is the will of God. It is the individual who is remade by the gospel, not the gospel which is remade by the individual. The person who becomes a Christian does not find an immediate answer to all problems. He is not given immediate insight into what is right and what is wrong.

That comes only slowly and often with much effort. But the Christian does commit himself to the right which he knows, and pledges himself to seek for more truth. His search for truth may lead him to conclusions which are unpopular, and he may find himself at odds not only with his neighbors, but also with his own predisposition. But regardless of the tension which may result from his Christian commitment, that commitment was not conditional; it was absolute.

Applying this rule to the matter of race relations, the Christian commits himself to ask, What is the right thing to do? He must be indifferent both to matters of expediency and to personal inclinations. In the matter of integration in the public school he should ask, What is right? In matters of transportation, hospitalization, employment, justice in the courts, and the like, he is not free to do what he would like. He is under obligation to act always as a Christian.

A second decision which the Christian should make is to obey the law. In the thirteenth chapter of his Epistle to the Romans the Apostle Paul discussed the obligation of the Christian to the state, and his chief emphasis was upon being law-abiding. In other places Paul qualified this obligation, as did Jesus, by insisting that there is a higher authority than that of the state and that, if there is conflict, the Christian must obey God rather than man. But where there is no conflict, the Christian must be law-abiding. One of the most distressing factors in the Southern picture after May 31, 1955, was the fact that Christian men and women, many of them in important places of leadership, spent their energies in seeking desperately some means of evading the law. They recognized that the law of the land prohibited segregation in the public schools, and they announced publicly their intention of

finding means of circumventing that law. Such an attitude cuts the ground from under one of the orders of creation, the state, and makes the individual the final voice of authority. The inevitable result of such an attitude is anarchy. The Christian is under moral obligation to be law-abiding.

In the third place, every Christian should resolve that in all situations he will treat every person as a *person*. If all individuals are created in the image of God and are of infinite worth in the sight of God, then all Christians must recognize the dignity which inherently belongs to the individual. That means that we must not base our dealings with other people upon the fact that they are members of a particular group, but upon the fact that they are persons. The minimal requirement in contacts between persons is courtesy. If common courtesy demands that a man remove his hat in the presence of a lady, should any distinction be made on the basis of race? If the titles, "Mr.," "Miss," and "Mrs.," are terms of respect, should they not be granted to all people? If a gentleman stands aside for a lady to pass through a door first, is he relieved of that obligation because the lady happens to be Negro?

If persons are treated as individuals rather than as members of a group, then no one can seek preferential treatment because he is a white person. His race is no basis for his claim to a better seat, or to priority at the ticket window or in the store. It is no basis for taking his word against that of another person who happens to be a Negro. Not only is it no basis for better waiting rooms, it is no basis for separate waiting rooms. A Christian should never seek these. Because of the culture in which he lives he may be accorded them, but he should have a troubled conscience in receiving them.

In the fourth place, the Christian ought to examine his own prejudices and to seek information. A prejudice is a "pre-judgment." It is a decision made and acted upon without sufficient information. It maintains a closed mind, refusing to alter decision or action on the basis of further information. It is therefore not reasonable. But it carries tremendous authority for the individual. It is not necessarily malicious; not all white persons who are prejudiced against Negroes hate them. Most of them, however, are contemptuous of the Negroes, for pre-judgments are almost always derogatory.

These pre-judgments the Christian should bring out into the open and examine objectively. He must seek to find out exactly what the facts are. A common pre-judgment, for example, is the conviction that the Negro is intellectually inferior to the white man. Before agreeing to that as a fact, the Christian must know what the evidence is and what conclusions are rightly based upon the evidence. The Christian must not be content even with revising his prejudices when errors are called to his attention. In the crisis of our day he is under obligation to re-examine his entire concept of race. The racial structure of our culture is undergoing radical changes, and we are under obligation to bring the force of the truth to bear upon them. Furthermore, Christians have a higher obligation than the mores, higher even than the law. They are under obligation to the truth as it has been made known supremely through Jesus Christ.

There is one final thing which the Christian can do which will go far in making his own attitude and actions more Christian and which will do great service in bringing his society more in line with the Christian gospel: he can cultivate contacts and friendships with Negroes.

Most of our prejudices are acquired from our cultural groups and are perpetuated for the most part by casual observation and contact. Where the contact is more than casual, it is usually with members of the lower classes. Furthermore, those contacts are not on a basis of mutuality but are of a master-servant variety. They do not provide an adequate basis for really knowing each other. Even where the master-servant relationship is most cordial, it is rather rigidly regulated by the mores of our society. It provides a very good opportunity for the Negro to know the white person in whose home he works, but it does not provide opportunity for the white person to know much about the Negro. If white people and Negroes are really to know each other, it must be on the basis of personal friendship rather than on the basis of work-relationship. Indeed, this is the only way any people really get to know each other.

In most instances the initiative for the cultivation of contacts must be taken by white people. It is true that the mores which have relegated the Negro to a subordinate position are breaking down, and there is greater freedom of contact. But because we are in a transitional stage, the Negro cannot be sure how his overtures may be received. His initiative may be well received by the white man, but he cannot be certain that it will. Quite often he fears that any initiative on his part may be misunderstood and resented. Since he is in a position where he may be hurt by a false step, he must be cautious. His caution, however, should not be interpreted as antagonism. The white man, on the other hand, has much more

freedom and therefore much greater obligation. He must be willing to go more than half way in respect and friendship. He must be prepared to encounter and to overlook not merely hesitancy but even reluctance on the part of the Negro. The racial barrier to real friendship, raised by white people, has existed for so long and has been so adamant that most Negroes have difficulty in believing that it has fallen. Since no person likes to be hurt, rather than run the risk of rejection most Negroes are slow in forming real friendships with white people and thus discourage white people who do make friendly overtures to them. But genuine rapport between a white person and a Negro may be dependent upon the white person's willingness both to take the initiative and to go beyond the normal demands of establishing friendships.

When contacts have reached the point where there is mutual respect and friendship, it is then possible for a person to gain real insight into the situation, to examine his own prejudices in the light of the facts, and to live by Christian principles. Contact will not solve all the problems, either on an individual or on a group basis. It does not solve all the problems between individuals of the same racial group. That you know a person is no guarantee that you will like him. But contact will go far toward a solution of many of the problems because it will make possible a mutual approach rather than a divisive one.

The American churches will probably have to deal with the race problem for many years to come. If, as Gunnar Myrdal says, the American race problem is fundamentally a moral one, it falls squarely within the province of the Christian gospel. The situation is changing much more rapidly than most people believed possible. Attitudes, too, are changing more rapidly than they believed possible.

But we are yet far from the ideal. The church must continue to hold up the Christian ideal as the standard by which our culture must be judged. It must furnish to individuals the motivation and the guiding principles for a more just order. Above all, it must challenge individuals to live by their faith, regardless of the culture within which they find themselves. This it must do because "our citizenship is in heaven."

Appendix

**Denominational Statements
on the Supreme Court Decision
of May 17, 1954**

"We recommend that local churches, where segregation has prevailed, move toward ways in which they and all churches can open their membership to all persons on a simple basis of faith and character, and that Congregational Christian colleges, agencies, associations, conferences and institutions practice non-segregation and non-discrimination in enrollment, employment, church extension and organization.

"We call upon all Americans to undertake timely and tolerant implementation of the Supreme Court decision and that our Department of Race Relations and Council for Social Action carry forward such activities as will develop support for the Supreme Court Decision."

—The General Council of the
Congregational Christian
Church, June, 1954

"BE IT RESOLVED: that we approve and commend the decision of the Supreme Court concerning segregation in the public schools, and

" . . . that we call upon our churches, our agencies, and our institutions, to re-examine themselves in the light of the implications of Christ's Gospel and to initiate and encourage voluntary, racially inclusive, community groups to plan for full compliance with the Gospel of Christ, as well as definite techniques for implementation within their own bodies

" . . . that we likewise urge our churches, our agencies, and our institutions in a spirit of reconciliation to teach forbearance, patience and generosity on both sides as we attempt to work out the problem of the Disciples of Christ and racial segregation."

—The Disciples of Christ,
October, 1954

"The historic decision of the Supreme Court abolishing segregation in the public schools system is in keeping with the attitudes of the Methodist Church. In our official pronouncements, including the Social Creed and the Episcopal address adopted by the 1952 General Conference, our position has been clearly stated."

—The Council of Bishops of
the Methodist Church,
November, 1954

"Having in mind the recent decision by the Supreme Court of the United States concerning segregation, the Assembly commends the principle of the decision and urges all members of our churches to consider thoughtfully and prayerfully the complete solution of the problems involved. It also urges all of our people to lend their assistance to those charged with the duty of implementing the decision, and to remember that appeals to racial prejudices will not help but hinder the accomplishments of this aim."

—The Presbyterian Church in
the United States, May,
1954

"Resolved, That we consistently oppose and combat discrimination based on color or race in every form, both within the Church and without, in this country and internationally.

"Resolved, That this Convention affirm its conviction that no branch of the Christian Church should rest content while any injustices in racial relations obtain in parishes, schools and agencies under her control or in association with her; and that it urge every member of the Church to labor unceasingly for the elimination of such injustices."

—The National Council of the
Episcopal Church, adopted
in 1952 and reaffirmed
December, 1954

"In light of the recent decision handed down by the Supreme Court of our nation, declaring segregation of the races to be unconstitutional and in view of the position of this convention in adhering to the basic moral principles of our religion as they apply in race relations, we recommend:

"That we recognize the fact that this Supreme Court decision is in harmony with the Constitutional guarantee of equal freedom to all citizens, and with the Christian principles of equal justice and love for all men.

"We commend the Supreme Court for deferring the applications of the principle both as to time and procedure until the nation shall have had time to work out methods by which the transitions from the present practice may be effected.

"We urge Christian statesmen and leaders in our churches to use their leadership in positive thought and planning to the end that this crisis in our national history shall not be made the occasion for new and bitter prejudices, but a movement toward a united nation, embodying and proclaiming a democracy that will commend freedom to all peoples."

—The Southern Baptist Con-
vention, June, 1954

"Here it can be seen that the Supreme Court decision is in accord with our Lutheran beliefs about the right to equal education. The Court's judgment that segregated education is basically unequal, and therefore unconstitutional, thus presents Christian people with the challenge to bring our nation's educational practices into accord with our Christian and democratic convictions."

—The Board of Social Missions
of the United Lutheran
Church in America, 1955

Selected References for Further Reading

Alpenfels, Ethel J., *Sense and Nonsense about Race*. New York: Friendship Press, 1957.

An inexpensive, paper-bound pamphlet dealing with popular misconceptions on the subject of race.

Clark, Kenneth B., *Prejudice and Your Child*. Boston: The Beacon Press, 1955.

This book contains an analysis of the psychology of race prejudice and a recommended program of action for combatting it.

Frazier, E. Franklin, *The Negro in the United States*. New York: Macmillan, 1949.

A good historical and sociological study, particularly helpful for an understanding of the background of the present situation.

Hansen, Carl F., *Miracle of Social Adjustment*. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith, 1957.

A report on desegregation in the Washington, D. C., schools, this is particularly valuable for its description of preparation for desegregation.

LaFarge, John, *The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations*. Garden City: Hanover House, 1956.

A statement of the Roman Catholic view of the race problem.

Loescher, Frank S., *The Protestant Church and the Negro*. New York: Association Press, 1948.

Loescher presents in this study a summary of the official pronouncements of the various denominations on the subject of race relations and a report on what the churches actually are doing to implement those pronouncements.

Loth, David, and Fleming, Harold, *Integration North and South*. New York: Fund for the Republic, 1956.

This is a concise report of developments in education, employment, housing, professional and social organizations, public services, recreation, health, and religion.

Mays, Benjamin, *Seeking to Be Christian in Race Relations*. New York: Friendship Press, 1957.

A brief study of pertinent biblical teachings and their bearings upon the present situation.

Myrdal, Gunnar, *An American Dilemma*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

Though it is quite old, this remains the classic study of race relations in America. The statistics are out of date and many changes have taken place since the book was produced. However, it is an exceedingly valuable study.

Nelson, William Stuart, editor, *The Christian Way in Race Relations*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948.

This book is a collection of essays by thirteen authors on the problem of race relations and the resources for attacking the problem. Each essay was examined and criticized by all the writers before publication. There are, however, diverse viewpoints expressed in the book.

Nichols, Lee, *Breakthrough on the Color Front*. New York: Random House, 1954.

The story of integration in the armed forces of the United States.

Pope, Liston, *The Kingdom Beyond Caste*. New York: Friendship Press, 1957.

A study by the Dean of Yale Divinity School, examining the problem of race as it exists both in the United States and in other sections of the world.

Root, Robert, *Progress Against Prejudice*. New York: Friendship Press, 1957.

The sub-title of this work is "The Church Confronts the Race Problem." It is a highly readable report of Christian action in race relations, and of successful experiences with integration within the church. The author is a reporter with wide experience in this country and abroad.

Tilson, Everett, *Segregation and the Bible*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1958.

A study of some of the biblical passages which are cited both for and against segregation. Particularly valuable is the concluding section on the implications of biblical faith.

The Race Question in Modern Science. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1956.

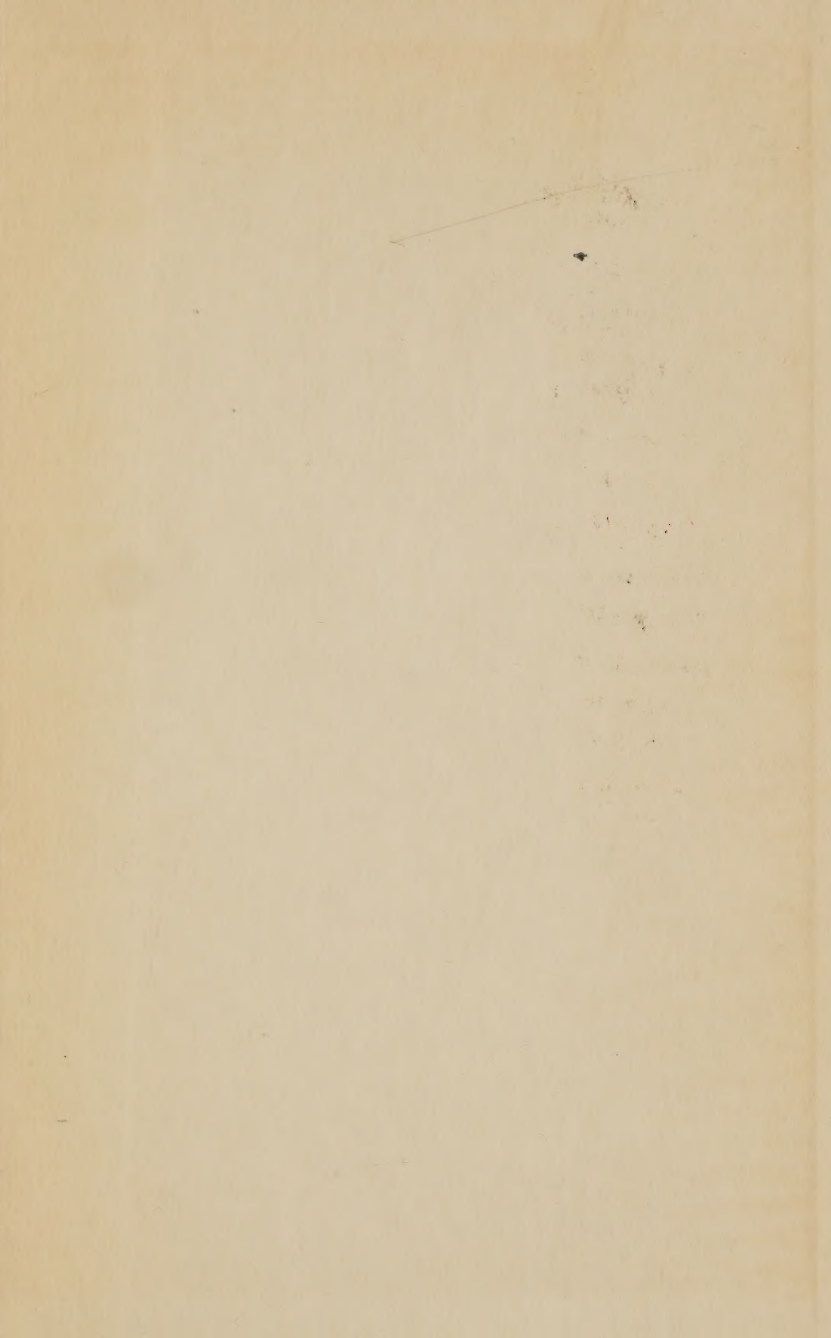
A collection of monographs by prominent anthropologists, sociologists, biologists, and psychologists, this is a scientific study of race and race prejudice. The plan for the writing and publishing of this book was made by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

Woodward, C. Vann, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955.

Woodward has presented an objective and readable report on the development of the laws providing legal sanction for segregation, and of recent events which have begun the destruction of the system.

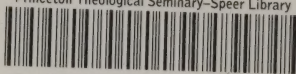
[illegible]

PRINTED IN U. S. A.



E185 .61.C94
No South or North.

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00024 1796